MENTAL CONFLICTS *and* PERSONALITY

MANDEL SHERMAN

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By

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MENTAL CONFLICTS AND PERSONALITY

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PREFACE

THE recent emphasis upon the role of mental conflicts in determining behavior has been of great benefit in stimulating the study of the borderline mental disorders and of the neuroses. The recognition that conflicts do not usually arise suddenly but develop gradually as the individual meets more and more difficult problems, as he matures, has influenced psychiatrists to make detailed studies of child development. It has also influenced them to make accurate studies of the personal and social backgrounds of adults in the attempt to trace the origin of their maladjustments. Thus, in many cases, evidence has been uncovered which shows that many maladjustments and neurotic conditions are due to mental conflicts which had their origin in childhood, but which did not cause undue emotional tension and consequent maladjustment until adolescence or adulthood.

Studies of the mechanism of mental conflicts have shown that only few maladjustments are due to a single conflict. Usually the basis for many maladjustments is the formation of a pattern of conflicts, the pressure of which causes the individual to assume either symbolic emotional maladjustment or overt maladjustments. The separation of various conflicts for discussion in this book has been made principally because they can be evaluated much more easily in this manner.

An attempt has been made to evaluate the most prominent theories regarding the role of mental conflicts, and to systematize those data which appear to have an objective basis. In addition, the experimental literature has been carefully scrutinized, and those reports which appeared of scientific interest have been included in the discussions, often, however, in very brief statements. The reader must consider much of the material in this field as highly theoretical. It is hoped, however, that out of a scientific evaluation of the material a clearer concept may be obtained of the nature and role of mental conflict. A systematic evaluation of the material should also function as a stimulus to further objective and experimental work.

I appreciate greatly the help given me by Dr. Harvey Carr, Dr. James Vaughn and Dr. M. A. Wenger in their reading of the manuscript and in their many pertinent suggestions.

MANDEL SHERMAN

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CHAPTER I

THE GENESIS AND NATURE OF CONFLICTS

IN A complex society conflicts are inevitable. The many competitions which people must face, the frustrated desires, unfulfilled goals, and intricate social sanctions and taboos influence the development of mental conflicts. These conditions create difficult problems not only for adults but also for children from the time they are old enough to understand, however vaguely, the meaning of personal and social relationships.

The prevailing belief that all conflicts are undesirable is not substantiated by psychiatric experience. Some are indeed valuable and beneficial when they serve as motivators to activities through which an adequate adjustment is made to the intricate demands of society. Many conflicts, on the other hand, are undesirable and detrimental, especially when they are energy-depleting, that is, when they involve an unusual expenditure of energy in the accompanying emotional turmoil. Others are detrimental when the individual attempts to solve them (consciously or unconsciously) in ways detrimental to his emotional balance. In general, the way in which a person responds to his conflicts determines whether they are beneficial or detrimental.

Many conflicts result in abnormal behavior. These conflicts are of special significance for the student of psychology and psychiatry. As some writers in these fields have stated, the fate of the energy of conflicts, that is, the direction which they take, and their effect upon the personality of the individual are the significant problems for students of human behavior.

A conflict is the pattern of mental activity characterized by unpleasant emotional attitudes involving a discrepancy either between one's desires and the acceptance of social or other restrictions to their attainment, or between two contradictory or incompatible desires. Conflicts thus have their origin to a large extent in the consequences of an evaluation of one's desires and attainments in relation to the expectations of society. The individual may or may not be aware of his reflective evaluations, but is unable to make a conscious and deliberate choice which he may accept.

A conflict may arise as a result of an unsatisfied need or desire which the person regards as a requisite for his well-being. In many instances conflicts arise as a result of frustration, generally because of the incompatibility of opposing desires or of circumstantial or social restrictions to their fulfillment. The accompanying tension is frequently increased by the repression of the desires which at times becomes necessary because of continual frustration. The reactions to these tensions at times result in a variety of undesirable behavior which will be described later.

INHERENT DESIRES

In order to understand the origin of many conflicts, it is necessary to define, in a general way at least, some of the fundamental desires common to every individual. It is of course impossible to classify all desires, since every individual differs from the standpoint of his early training, his experiences, his frustrations, his environment and culture. It may be possible, however, to make some general classification of desires. (It is well known that many desires arise from conflict or the attempt to solve a conflict, but the discussion is directed towards the so-called "basic" desires.)

The literature on the relationship between innate "drives" and conflicts shows much variation not only in theory but also in terminology. Many writers mention a number of conditions which may be the basis for conflict, but a listing of these conditions would be impossible since the problems of mankind are infinite. Some writers attempt to classify conflicts in terms of the following categories : mental, relating to a frustration of intrinsic drive or "appetite" ; social, involving difficulties and consequent emotional reaction to problems of social adjustment ; and moral, involving the development of conflict due to a sense of guilt because of behavior which is classified by one's immediate social group as immoral.

In regard to the results of conflicts a number of classifications have also been made. Thus Morgan [1] states that individuals react to conflict by aggressive attitudes which are extravertive in nature, and defensive reactions which are introvertive. As defensive reactions he lists the at-

[1] John J. B. Morgan, The psychology of the unadjusted school child, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1936, pp. 339.

tempts to minimize conflicts, to avoid conflict by refusing to meet it or denying that an issue exists, refusal to consider defeat by regressing to previous victories, by comparing oneself with less fortunate individuals, by daydreaming, and by rationalization, either by blaming others for one's real or supposed failure, or by blaming uncontrollable circumstances.

In the attempt to develop a concept of the basis for the development of conflict, many investigators have emphasized the frustration of "instinctive impulses." Thus, Cyril Burt [2] emphasizes the struggle between different instinctive impulses.

The psychoanalytic point of view emphasizes the goal-seeking activity which is carried on below the level of consciousness. Freud's theory includes a "creative force" which "impels all animate life and gives the mental processes their dynamic nature." [3] This force is the tendency of "psychical energy" to seek discharge. The *impulses* for the discharge of psychical energy are termed *wishes* or *desires*. These, in turn, create new impulses of various degrees of complexity. The discharge of psychical energy gives pleasure, gratification, or relief to the ego. This is, of course, the satisfaction of the desires. As the satisfaction of desires is the same as the pleasure of the discharge of psychical energy, it is apparent that one's impulses aim to satisfy the *pleasure principle*.

In infancy the pleasure principle is undisguised. Later it becomes distorted and hidden. Social factors — the environment — offer difficulties and obstacles to the more mature individual and to the adult. The pleasure principle cannot function undisturbed under such conditions. The reality principle thus becomes the prevailing force in conscious mental life. Yet the pleasure principle is still operating and dominates the unconscious mental life. Under certain conditions, a regression occurs to the stage when the pleasure principle is again dominant.

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[2] Cyril Burt, The young delinquent, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1929, pp. 619.

[3] Barbara Low, Psychoanalysis, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1920, 45–50.

Psychoanalysts base their concept of conflict upon the premise that normal instinctual drives are frustrated, resulting in conflict which in turn is often further repressed. Since the most frequent frustrations are in the realms of behavior which are socially undesirable or which are not sanctioned socially, and since the most common problem of childhood relates to sex interest and behavior, it is understandable that the emphasis has been upon the origin of a majority of conflicts as a result of the frustration of sex interests and drives. It is natural that many investigators, however, especially in the field of psychology, have questioned seriously some of the interpretations of psychoanalysts. First, the question has arisen whether sufficient emphasis has been given to the direct influence of social and cultural backgrounds in the arousal of conflict, and second, the very disturbing question has arisen regarding the propriety of speaking of instincts and instinctual drives in view of the negative findings in a large number of psychological investigations. Thus criticism is leveled at the use which psychoanalysts make of instincts and instinctual urges without sufficiently taking into account the large amount of experimental work performed in recent years on the problem of instincts. It is certain that a modern psychologist will either refuse to use the term instinct entirely or will modify the traditional meaning in terms of the experimental results in this field.

In answer to such criticisms, Kubie states, "Psychoanalysis uses the term *instinctual* not as synonymous with the biological word *instinct* but rather as synonymous with the German word *Trieb*. This German word means deep emotional drives, whether on an hereditary basis or acquired in the life of the individual. There is no definite English equivalent for it; and in psychoanalytic terminology the word instinctual has been used as the equivalent of this German word in contrast to the word instinctive with its biological-hereditary connotation." [4]

This explanation of the use of the term "instinctual" is certainly not satisfactory. If the term is used to mean deep emotional drives, whether on an hereditary or acquired basis, a further fallacy is introduced. It is now implied that deep emotional drives may be due either to heredity or acquisition. Therefore instincts and emotions are supposed to have a similar origin. Actually, emotional drives have been shown experimentally to be acquired, and are unrelated to so-called fundamental drives.

McDougall, for example, who has consistently explained many psychological phenomena through the use of instinct, has recently modified his previous statements regarding instincts in so far as they are concerned with the behavior of man.[5]

CLASSIFICATION OF DESIRES

NUMEROUS classifications have been made of desires. In times past the term instinct was used synonymously with desires of given types. When the term instinct was discarded, other terms were substituted. These newer terms, while appearing to be more logical than the term instinct, as applied to man, are practically of the same significance when analyzed closely. Also, many of the terms which various sociologists and psychologists have propounded are the result of the interpretation of the actual behavior of various individuals rather than that of the discovery of any innate responses.

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[4] Lawrence S. Kubie, The psychoanalyst's point of view, Chapter V, The problem of mental disorder, by Madison Bentley and E. V. Cowdry, New York, 1934, McGraw-Hill Book Co., p. 86.

[5] William McDougall, The energies of men, Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1932, pp. 395.

McDougall believed until recently that instincts constitute the basic "motive power" of all thought and action. Each of the instincts was supposed to be associated with a characteristic emotion. The instincts classified by McDougall [6] were :

1. Instinct of flight from danger
2. Instinct of repulsion
3. Instinct of curiosity
4. Instinct of pugnacity
5. Instinct of self-abasement (subjection)
6. Instinct of self-assertion (self-display)
7. Parental instinct
8. Instinct of reproduction
9. Gregarious instinct
10. Instinct of acquisition
11. Instinct of construction

In addition there were supposed to be some innate tendencies which are not specific. The instinctive tendencies are not, however, rigidly patterned. They also vary considerably in the degree to which they affect behavior, that is, they do not all exert an equal influence. One may have little effect while another may be dominant in directing the course of thought and behavior. As all the instincts have an innate basis, the variability might be attributed to environmental factors, that is, they are controlled by social circumstances.

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[6] William McDougall, An introduction to social psychology, John W. Luce and Co., Boston, 1926, pp. 520.

Recently McDougall stated that in man "it is difficult to point to any one train of activity that seems to be the peculiar expression of one propensity and of abilities exclusively associated with that propensity, i. e. of one instinct."[7] For the lower animals the term instinct is still retained, but for man the term propensity is employed.

From the following list of propensities, the similarity to his previous list of instincts may be noticed. McDougall classifies the following as a tentative and approximate list of the recognized innate propensities :

1. Food-seeking propensity. To seek and perhaps to store food.
2. Disgust propensity. To reject and avoid certain noxious substances.
3. Sex propensity. To court and mate.
4. Fear propensity. To flee to cover in response to violent impressions that inflict or threaten pain or injury.
5. Curiosity propensity. To explore strange places and things.
6. Protective or parental propensity. To feed, protect and shelter the young.
7. Gregarious propensity. To remain in company with fellows, and if isolated, to seek that company.
8. Self-assertive propensity. To domineer, to lead, to assert oneself over, or display oneself before, one's fellows.
9. Submissive propensities. To defer, to obey, to follow, to submit in the presence of others who display superior powers.
10. Anger propensity. To resent and forcibly to break down any thwarting or resistance offered to the free exercise of any other tendency.
11. Appeal propensity. To cry aloud for assistance when our efforts are utterly baffled.
12. Constructive propensities. To construct shelters and implements.
13. Acquisitive propensity. To acquire, possess and defend whatever is found useful or otherwise attractive.

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[7] William McDougall, The energies of men, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1932, p. 77.

14. Laughter propensity. To laugh at the defects and failures of our fellow-creatures.

15. Comfort propensity. To remove, or remove oneself from, whatever produces discomfort, as by scratching or by change of position and location.

16. Rest or sleep propensity. To lie down, rest, and sleep when tired.

17. Migratory propensity. To wander to new scenes.

18. A group of very simple propensities subserving bodily needs, such as coughing, sneezing, breathing, evacuation.

By propensity, McDougall means a disposition which when excited activates a "tendency, a striving, an impulse, or drive towards some goal." A desire is such a tendency working consciously toward a goal. This goal-seeking activity is, however, not confined to conscious activity. It may be carried on below the level of consciousness and yet manifest itself.

One of the classifications which is employed to a great extent is that by W. I. Thomas,[8] who classified human wishes into the wish for recognition, for security, for response from others, and for new experience. It is obvious that these wishes arise perhaps mainly from social interplay, and their intensity depends upon social conditions. Thus the desire for security, for example, depends not only upon social conditions, such as the status of the individual and the complexity of the competition offered him, but also upon the conflicts of the individual.

Another classification is that suggested by Howard and Patry.[9] They list as the fundamental urges in man, mastery, recognition, superiority, sympathy, security, and adventure. These urges are supposed to be present in various guises and degrees.

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[8] W. I. Thomas, The maladjusted girl, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1931, pp. 261.

[9] Frank E. Howard and Frederick L. Patry, Mental health, Harper and Bros., New York, 1935, p. 240.

The term *drive* has also been utilized extensively, frequently as a substitute for the term innate desire or wish. It is assumed by some psychologists that an individual has natural drives which result in conflicts when they are not fulfilled. In the same manner, the term "appetites" has been constructed. This term at first seemed to be more appropriate than the discarded term instinct because it seemed to have some physiological connotations. Very few investigations have been conducted, however, to differentiate clearly the physiological and psychological activities of an individual and the precise function of such conditioning upon the development and mechanism of an individual's desires or "appetites."

Professor Knight Dunlap presents a classification of desires which includes the physiological as well as the psychological activities. It is apparently not intended merely to substitute for the various classifications of "inherent" drives postulated by a number of other psychologists. The classification of Dunlap is as follows : [10]

1. Alimentary desire. The desire for food and drink.
2. Excretory desire. Riddance. The desire to be rid of annoying or inconvenient materials or processes.
3. Protection desire. Desire for shelter from adverse external forces.
4. Activity desire. The desire for motor performance and occupation.
5. Desire for rest and relaxation.
6. Amorous or erotic desires. Desire for stimulation by, and association with, an individual of the opposite sex.
7. Parental or philopedic desire. Desire for the possession of children.
8. Desire of preeminence. Desire to be a leader, or a focus of attention and interest.

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[10] Knight Dunlap, Civilized life, Williams and Wilkins Co., Baltimore, 1934, p. 64.

9. Desire of conformity. Desire to belong to a group and to participate in the group characteristics.

Dunlap states that the first five of these desires are individual, that is, their satisfaction does not depend essentially on other persons. In their practical manifestations, however, they are of significance for group life.

Drives (and motives) are often classified into physiological and social.[11] The physiological drives mentioned most frequently by various writers are hunger, sex, self-preservative activities, and general activity. These drives are considered fundamental because they are observed not only in all human individuals but also in animals. Some observers believe that the social drives such as the drive for recognition, security, prestige, and so on, which naturally can be objectively observed only in man, are substitutes for the original physiological drives, or as some writers state, evolve out of the innate physiological drives. These substitutive drives and motives arise because of the social and cultural complexities to which man must adjust himself. In the evolution of the complexity of social conditions the drives have become more subtle and more socialized. Thus the drive for security manifested originally by the drives of hunger and self-preservation assumes the form, say, in the young man, of a drive for educational or professional attainment through which economic and social security may be realized. The drive for recognition appears in different ways with growth. The young child, for example, obtains recognition by identification with his parents, the adolescent may obtain recognition by proficiency in athletics, and the adult, by scientific discovery or by unusual economic success.

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[11] For a good discussion of the role of motives in adjustment see Laurance Frederic Shaffer, The psychology of adjustment, Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1936, 86–111.

Tolman [12] states that the fundamental drives provide the basis for all behavior ; the various elaborations and motivations which are observed in the adult are refinements and modifications built upon the inherent drives. Tolman believes that the human organism reacts in accordance with the fundamental physiological attempt at quiescence and the opposing attempt at aversion. The inherent drives therefore can be divided into appetites and aversions. In the case of the appetites the attempt is to reach a physiological quiescence due to the physiological disturbances which are inherent in the nature of the organism. The external stimuli which vary in different individuals merely act as immediate initiators for the physiological reaction. Tolman lists six innate human appetites, and two human aversions, that is, fright and pugnacity. In fright the attempt is at avoidance and in pugnacity the individual attempts to interfere with the object or condition to which there is an aversion.

In evaluating carefully the doctrine regarding innate human appetites as stated by Tolman and others, one observes many contradictions when actual behavior is explained. Tolman and others, while emphasizing the innate characteristics of the appetites or drives, state, however, that much of human behavior is learned. There is question, however, whether the "learning" is merely modification of the inherent drives or whether the use of the term "drive" or "appetite" results from the attempt to explain universally observed behavior. Sociologists might point to the relative constancy of culture and social patterns for most individuals as at least a partial explanation of the universality (or rather relative universality) of given behavior characteristics. That these drives or appetites (or whatever name is given to innate physiological patterns) exist in human beings cannot be denied. That they are the "basic" processes which affect the fundamental behavior "with certain modifications" has not been proven on the basis of available data. Everyone admits, for example, that in the lower animals such innate physiological patterns play the dominant role in the forthcoming behavior but the fashion to make analogies between the behavior of animals and man is somewhat outmoded.

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[12] E. C. Tolman, Purposive behavior in animals and men, 1932, New York, The Century Co., 271–289.

The classification of drives made by Young [13] is slightly different from Tolman's. Young states that primary drives arise from a physiological basis, dependent upon a persistent organic state. The secondary drives are dependent for the most part upon social conditioning. In other words, a persistent state of disequilibrium is set up (because of inherent physiological activities) which forms the driving forces for the ensuing behavior. As soon as a state of equilibrium is reached the drive for activity disappears. (Note the similarity of the statement of this mechanism to some current theories of emotions which state that an emotion results from a frustration of activity and because the individual is unable to make an adjustment in any other way.)

The specificity of drives as they are related to organic states does not define the variety of ways which are employed to arrive at a state of physiological equilibrium. One person may be motivated into direct activity. He may begin his activity upon very mild stimulation. Another person requires intense stimulation, and he may use a circuitous manner of satisfying his needs. The *method* of responding to goals depends upon an intricate and subtle process of social conditioning.

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[13] Paul Thomas Young, Motivation of behavior, 1936, New York, John Wiley & Sons, pp. 562. (This is an excellent presentation of the problems of motivation and should be read by everyone interested in human behavior.)

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF DESIRES

THE term, desire, in so far as it is related to the development of conflicts, refers to psychological rather than to physiological or organic processes. As Dunlap implies, there is, however, a close relationship between physiological and psychological desires, since given psychological reactions have a definite effect upon physiological drives.

The psychological reactions which are commonly observed in man may be classified as follows : recognition, prestige, security, and activity. (This classification is a modification of W. I. Thomas' classification mentioned previously.)

In a socially competitive world everyone desires some form of recognition. This is seen, for example, in the reactions of the young child towards his brothers and sisters and toward his parents. The young child constantly seeks attention in one way or another. He may obtain attention from his parents by assumed illness or by temper tantrums. As he becomes older he may attempt to obtain attention from his playmates by various identifications. Often he uses his parents as a means of obtaining attention. He identifies himself with the prestige of his parents, thus obtaining recognition from others. He may identify himself with his possessions, obtaining recognition because his toys or other possessions are superior to those of other children. With growth, the method of obtaining recognition becomes more concealed and subtle, but the quest for recognition goes on.

The problem of obtaining recognition is closely allied with and dependent upon obtaining prestige. In a competitive social organization recognition is often dependent upon prestige ; thus everyone attempts to be more important than others. The method of obtaining prestige varies with the individual and varies also with age and intelligence. Some people, for example, attempt to obtain prestige by unusual proficiency in some skill or learning. In others, prestige is obtained by identification with important groups or individuals ; in still others, by identification through ownership of material possessions.

The more competitive the environment, the more important becomes the drive for security. In an environment with little competition and few choices of activity, security is a relatively unimportant problem. Where competition is intense, however, security becomes a precarious problem. At the present moment, for example, economic security is one of the most important aspirations of the individual, since so many persons are without definite or consistent income. Many other forms of security are also important, however. Nearly every man strives, for example, for social security, for affectional security, and so on.

Many desires may be classified as secondary, that is, they are developed as a means of solving conflicts. The individual is not aware of the purpose of his desires in relation to his conflicts. Often these secondary desires become more intense with an increase in the seriousness of the conflict. Everyone is aware of many instances in which the individual's desires are not fundamental to his progress or well-being. Thus many secondary desires serve as a method of escape from the real problems which the individual is unwilling or unable to face. A person may have a strong desire, for example, to move to another town or another part of the country. He may rationalize his desire in terms of bettering his condition, but the basic reason may be an attempt to escape from some difficulties. A common desire is for possessions. An individual decides upon an expensive car, for example, and rationalizes by pointing out that the expensive car is much more economical in the long run. This seems reasonable, but the basic reason may be his wish to obtain recognition, and he attempts to attain this by identification with something expensive.

In the case of a twelve-year-old boy, his difficulties in the home revolved about his constant desire to obtain new mechanical devices. He gave as his reason a desire to learn mechanics, but the family noticed that he was rather destructive and he constantly had to replenish his materials. In this case, the desire for new contrivances was probably in part based upon a physical inferiority. He was physically handicapped by hemiparesis and had never been able to compete with other boys on a physical basis. His mechanical toys and materials brought other children into his home and gave him friendships and prestige which he could not obtain in other ways. His conflicts of inferiority thus gave him a desire to excel, and his interest in mechanical construction was merely incidental to his desire for prestige.

Individual desires through which many conflicts develop are probably for the most part socially conditioned. As many psychologists have pointed out, individuals living in a simple, relatively non-competitive environment develop relatively few desires and therefore few conflicts. The more complex and the more competitive the environment, the greater is the number of desires and therefore the greater the number of frustrations. The desire for education, for example, which is so keen in many individuals is naturally not always the result of an intellectual curiosity due to intelligence itself, but is due, on the other hand, to the standards of the community above which a given individual wishes to rise. During the American Pioneer era, an education equivalent to a grade school graduation was considered to be a highly desirable goal and one which gave the individual a good deal of recognition and prestige. With the development of compulsory education grade school graduation came to be considered a minimum essential, and therefore no longer functioned as a criterion for recognition and much less so for prestige. In the past two or three decades, when a college education became a common occurrence, even a college graduate finds it difficult to obtain recognition from his formal education. Nowadays, one requires a graduate degree, or perhaps two graduate degrees to set himself off from others in the community. In a like way other methods of obtaining recognition and prestige depend upon the competitive nature of the community in which the individual finds himself. When automobiles first became a social necessity, it was common to strive to obtain a car of an expensive make. It is common knowledge that many people sacrificed many ordinary conveniences in order to own a car beyond their means. Now it is perhaps no longer a mark of prestige to own an expensive car, but other criteria have been established.

It is clearly seen, therefore, that the nature and the intensity of a desire must be analyzed in terms of the social problems in which the individual is involved, as well as in terms of the conflicts which concern him. An evaluation of the statements of various authors indicates that conflicts arise only when frustrations are interpreted by the individual as a danger to the integrity of his personality, or, as some writers have put it, to the integrity of his ego development. Thus, the interpretation by the individual, whether he is aware of such interpretation or not, is the mechanism through which conflict formation shows itself, the actual frustration being merely the setting for the ensuing conflicts.

THE AROUSAL OF CONFLICTS

Conflicts are most likely to arise from problems with which society is intimately concerned and around which it has built customs, traditions, and therefore taboos. The greatest number of taboos have been built around problems of morality, and it is in this realm that many difficulties arise. A person may have a strong desire for sex expression, for example, but may be inhibited from attaining satisfaction because of a large number of restrictions. The restrictions may arise because of social pressure, because of previous parental training, because of the sense of guilt frequently involved in contemplation of the desire, and so on. If other satisfying outlets are not available for the accompanying emotional excitement the resulting conflict may assume great significance.

The conflict mechanism is observed, of course, not only in regard to sex problems but also in relation to a host of other problems. An individual with little formal education, for example, may find himself in a situation where others obtain a good deal of prestige because of the extent of their formal schooling. If he is satisfied with other abilities or characteristics through which he has obtained prestige, and if these function in this new situation, no conflicts arise. If his prestige is threatened, however, by the educational superiority of the other members of his group he must find another way of satisfaction. Unable to find a substitute for his threatened prestige he may develop all sorts of arguments to convince himself and others of the superiority of "self-made" men. He represses his real attitudes, and his conflict may express itself in a scornful attitude towards the college graduate. The threat to his prestige is thus temporarily averted and he remains unaware of his conflict mechanism or of its temporary solution.

Conflicts often cause a gradual transformation of personality. These transformations as a result of mental conflicts make some persons shy and others bold, give some individuals a great deal of initiative and others a feeling of hopelessness. The changes of personality which result from mental conflicts depend upon their frequency and intensity and upon a variety of environmental conditions.

Conflicts are at the basis of many deviations of behavior. If everyone were free from conflicts there might be only very few neurotic, hysterical, or emotionally disorganized persons. On the other hand we might not have distinguished or creative personalities. We might have few famous scientists, artists, political leaders, or scholars. We might have a society with little mental disorganization but, on the other hand, little progress. Men like Bach, Beethoven, Steinmetz, Mussolini, Wilson, Roosevelt, Lenin, and a host of other historical figures probably would be impossible in a society in which men could adjust themselves easily and in which their desires were no greater than the existing social order made it possible for them to attain. In a complex social order which inevitably creates personal conflicts, mental disorganization and creative effort go hand in hand. The majority, however, are neither stimulated to great heights nor disorganized by their conflicts. On one side of this group exists a large number of individuals emotionally disorganized by their conflicts. This group consists of the neurotic, the personally maladjusted, and the socially disorganized. On the other side exists a group much smaller in number who, stimulated by their conflicts and possessing high intelligence and perseverance, attain great heights because of their creative energy.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONFLICTS

THE concept of the function of conflicts in determining both normal and abnormal behavior has been a significant contribution to the understanding of human action. As many psychiatrists and psychologists have shown, every action is influenced in some way by previous experiences. Every experience leaves its imprint upon our personalities and affects our attitudes and our reactions toward future conditions. Obviously, therefore, the experiences and conflicts of childhood are of great importance because of their influence upon the developing pattern of personality. Because many childhood conflicts are never solved, some psychologists speak of a "conflict pattern," implying that the basis of adult conflicts is laid down during early life.

Conflicts are an inevitable concomitant of growth, for a rapidly increasing number of problems are encountered in the widening of social relationships as the child matures. Personal social relationships are necessary forerunners of conflict, for without them the individual is unable to evaluate his desires and attainments. When social relationships become an established phase of the routine of the individual (and this occurs very early in childhood), he begins to compare himself with others, Many of his comparisons are favorable whereas others are unfavorable. When he explains these unfavorable comparisons on the basis of a personal failure, conflicts result.

With growth the child becomes aware of the impossibility of attaining many of his desires. If he accepts his limitations (or if he diverts his interests to attainable desires), conflicts do not develop, but if he believes that his failure to attain is due to a personal defect, conflicts inevitably result. These conflicts are often solved satisfactorily in time when he learns that many desires and ambitions can never be attained because of circumstantial or social reasons. Other conflicts remain unsolved for variable periods of time at the expense of internal emotional disturbances and external changes of conduct. Still other conflicts are solved temporarily in a variety of undesirable ways — by neurotic symptoms, by various escapes, or by compensatory behavior.

Every sort of conflict may develop at any age. Age and mental maturity, however, are important influences. Thus, because the social relationships of a five-year-old are limited and also because a child of this age is usually protected by his parents from difficult realities, his conflicts are few and simple. The five-year-old does not have conflicts regarding economic security — so common among adults, — nor does he have conflicts involving social status, nor those involving ordinary sex problems. His experiences have been few, his frustrations infrequent, and his intelligence has not matured sufficiently to comprehend the meaning or possibility of competition, of failure, of social discrepancies, or of constant defeat in realizing one's desires. His life is sheltered and ordered, and his sense of importance is so great that he does not have a comprehensive idea of the meaning of personal, economic, or social insecurity. His ego rules him at this period, his sense of importance is as yet unruffled by the numerous frustrations he will meet later, and his personal problems revolve mainly around his relationships with his family.

Despite the fact that conflicts generally do not arise until the individual faces serious social problems, even children of kindergarten age may be emotionally maladjusted. Every psychiatrist at times is called upon to deal with young children whose difficulties are relatively as serious as those of the most maladjusted adults. The conflicts of these children may arise, for example, from jealousy of their brothers and sisters. Such conflicts may be based upon a feeling of inferiority because of a real or imagined parental discrimination. When a child believes that his parents favor one of his brothers or sisters he may attribute this discrimination to some personal failure. He may begin to believe that he is unwanted by his parents. His sense of security is thus jeopardized, and since he is unable to account for his supposedly inferior status he begins to enlarge upon the possibility of a personal defect.

Many students of human behavior point to the inadequate training of the home as one of the factors tending to prolong the infancy of the child and the consequent inability of adolescents and adults to face reality without resorting to undesirable personality characteristics or neurotic symptoms. The complete sheltering of the child in most homes tends to give him an erroneous impression of the problems he will inevitably meet later on. The preparation for his later life is thus inadequate, and the child finds himself with little background to enable him to understand the rapidly changing social panorama. As we shall see later, this sheltering is not limited to the preschool period. Indeed, as long as the child lives at home he is generally sheltered from an adequate understanding of reality. Not only are parents loath to expose him to hardships because of their belief that realities should be hidden from him as long as possible, but they also believe that facing reality makes too great a strain on a child.

The education of the young child thus often consists of actual or implied teaching of the glories of living with little indication of the hardships and realities which everyone must encounter sooner or later. The child is impressed, for example, by stories of the heroic deeds and conquests of great men. No mention is made of the infinitely far greater number of men who have failed in their quests despite their courage, their intelligence, their honesty, and good intentions.

Many children believe implicitly in their future success, because they are sheltered from a recognition of the possibility of failure. When they fail to attain some strong desire, they may have an intense unpleasant emotional reaction to the failure. And conflicts arise because they cannot understand why they failed, and they may believe that their failure to succeed was due to some personal defect.

Up to, and often through, adolescence, the child's faith in his parents is complete and final. Parents are pleased at this faith, without understanding that conflicts may result when the child later finds it necessary to attempt to discard his early training. His feelings of security are further jeopardized, and his confusion is increased regarding his goals, ambitions, and values when environmental circumstances force him to change or discard his early attitudes and beliefs.

Thus the individual constantly finds himself confronted at every age level with problems of which he is but vaguely aware and for which he had been inadequately prepared. As we have seen, the problems of the preschool child are relatively few and not of the greatest significance, except in those instances when the child is forced to make adjustments outside of the home, as in attendance at a nursery school. When parents send their three- or four-year-old child to a nursery school they are frequently astounded at the reports from the teachers and are also often surprised at the numerous conflicts he develops. A preschool child is generally selfish. He cannot understand why his nursery school teacher insists that he share his toys with the other children. Does he not have his toys to himself at home? Did not his parents buy him the toys for his exclusive use and ownership? In most cases the preschool child is partially if not wholly dependent upon his parents for his everyday needs and comforts. Nursery school teachers, on the other hand, insist that he dress and undress himself for his afternoon naps, wait on himself at the lunch table, and put away his toys and materials after his play or task is completed. Such requests have never been made of him previously in a systematic manner. He may believe that his teachers are discriminating against him, or that he is being thwarted.

The conflicts which are likely to arise may express themselves in irritability, sulkiness, anger, or rebellion. The conflicts arising in such a situation are the natural consequences of too rapid a transition from the relative irresponsibility in the home to the demand for the assumption of personal and social responsibilities. In most cases these conflicts are solved easily and quickly if the teachers are tactful and the training program is carried on simultaneously by the home and school. If the child finds, however, that he is not called upon to meet these responsibilities at home, he is likely to develop a pattern of rebellion towards those in authority and also a pattern of flight away from reality and responsibility.

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS AND CONFLICTS

THE nature of the environment, the change from one environment to another and the preparatory training of the individual are three important factors which influence the number and complexity of conflicts. Under ordinary conditions our environment changes rather rapidly, from the relative simplicity of early childhood to the complexity of adulthood. When growth brings with it few environmental changes, however, and when the personal and social demands change but little with age, the conflicts which arise are few in number and of little importance.

The anthropologist who studies various cultures has little opportunity in this country to select a group of people who are culturally isolated, so that he may compare their characteristics with the characteristics of people who are influenced by a wide variety of cultural conditions. A number of relatively isolated groups of people have been studied, however, with interesting and significant findings. A number of studies have been made of mountain people living in regions geographically isolated. Recent studies have shown that in an isolated environment individuals differed very little from each other in their desires, ambitions, worries, or personality characteristics. One child was like any other in those traits which we consider as significant in differentiating one from another. In the most geographically and culturally isolated regions the demands of the environment changed little from day to day. Their environment necessitated few desires or ambitions. Frustrations were few, and even to these the people reacted placidly on the assumption that nature cannot be changed. Consequently few conflicts developed. Because these people had few conflicts they were not stimulated to greater striving and therefore attained no more (and perhaps less) than their ancestors.

In the mountain regions of higher cultural complexity the situation was found to be quite different. The cultural complexity of these regions introduced many new problems. The people were concerned about their goals and ambitions. They were aware of frustrations. Their society had introduced mores from which they could not deviate without exposing themselves also to their own conscience. These people had a variety of conflicts.

Neurotic symptoms were observed among some of these adults. Some persons were considered queer or unusual by others, and in a number of other ways the people of this region showed the deviations of personality and behavior, the desires and ambitions, the frustrations and mental stresses of people living under ordinary conditions. The frequency of these deviations was much smaller, however, than in cities or towns where life goes on at a much faster pace and where competition is much more intense. Although these mountaineers sought to attain prestige in a variety of ways, their efforts were rather mild compared with the energetic drives of other people. And there were only a few ways to obtain prestige — the school child by owning several pencils, the youth perhaps through an extended trip to a large city, the older inhabitant through the possession of a few books or some new farm implement.

In the usual town environment the individual is forced to compete with others at a very early age and this social competition becomes increasingly complex with age. Adults, especially, are motivated to attain success of one sort or another, partly to attain prestige and security and partly as compensations for their conflicts. As we shall see later, all manners and means are employed in the attempts to obtain success. Some people strive to attain superiority in skills, others in wealth, others in unusual possessions. Some people, thwarted in attaining personal success, or suffering from conflicts regarding personal security, attempt to attain prestige by identifying themselves with supposedly important or unusual political causes, with institutions, societies, clubs, and so on.

In contrast with the lethargic mental drives of the mountain children our children constantly increase their drives for superiority and attainment. Increasing age brings new social and personal problems and also increases the number of real or imagined frustrations. New and more intense conflicts constantly develop. Some of these conflicts are solved, and others are crowded out by new ones. Still others are repressed and remain unsolved, and it is these conflicts which cause inner tension and emotional stress, and are influential in determining the pattern of personality which later may cause emotional disturbances, or, on the other hand, energetic and creative activity.

THE INCREASE OF PROBLEMS WITH AGE

WHEN the child enters school he is confronted by problems with which he was unacquainted in his home. For the first time he finds himself in active competition with others of his own age, and this competition becomes more intense as he progresses in his grades. He begins, for example, to learn about sex problems which his parents have diligently attempted to keep from him. His desires for further sex knowledge are thwarted by his parents and other adults, and conflicts regarding sex are thus introduced. With widening experience and greater information the growing child's desires are increasingly thwarted. His maturing intelligence enables him to see more and more clearly the discrepancies of society. His training in honesty, for example, later on adds further to his conflicts when he realizes how society condones and even applauds activities of men who are clever and shrewd. His conscience which as a young child was of little significance becomes a source of worry and irritation. He begins to evaluate his behavior and attitudes in terms of good or bad, as society teaches him, and, because he is too immature to reason clearly, may develop a sense of guilt regarding some of his experiences, the majority of which are trifling.

At adolescence new problems arise. The adolescent's physical and sex maturation introduces problems which he cannot solve himself, nor can he obtain much help from adults. He is instructed only in the negative — he must not have too much sex curiosity, he must not have sex experiences, indeed he must not even admit that he is interested in, much less have, sex problems. Thus his drive for self-expression is further frustrated and conflicts regarding sex assume a more intense and personal meaning. The confusion among adults, not only regarding sex but also regarding many other problems, adds to the adolescent's confusion. If he makes an effort to clarify his confusion by experimenting, his parents and teachers become panicky and insist that he conform to custom and tradition. On the other hand, if he shows dependence upon adults, he is chided for his immaturity. Modern sociologists maintain, and with good reason, that adolescence is a period of confusion and emotional disturbance mainly because of the attitudes of adults towards adolescents.

The sense of guilt and the accompanying conflicts arising during adolescence are accompaniments of many neuroses among adults. A sense of guilt arises from experiences which the individual considers as contrary to normal or good behavior. Naturally, a sense of guilt is most likely to arise from behavior which is tabooed by society, and sex is the most common taboo. No one develops a sense of guilt, for example, about too much attention to his studies, or to his food or dress. But the taboo on sex is so universal and constant that few people escape a sense of guilt when they deviate from society's restrictions. Deviations most often occur during adolescence when physiological desires first assert themselves forcefully. A large number of sex neuroses and abnormalities of sex behavior thus have their origin during adolescence. In many cases the adult solves his sex conflicts ; in others, the conflicts remain and are intensified by the passing of time. In our later discussion we shall see how sex frigidity, irregularities, and perversions arise from unsolved sex conflicts many of which originate during the adolescent period.

Youth and early adulthood bring the individual in contact with realities which entail stress even upon the most hardy. The long period of dependence upon parents and teachers — the long period of emotional and mental infancy — provides little background to face social realities. The inability to face realities often results in escapes into neurotic and regressive behavior or in flight into activity through which immediate realities are avoided.

A host of problems must be solved during youth and early adulthood — problems involving social prestige, occupational and professional planning, and so on. The youth is usually impressed with the virtue of work and with the absolute necessity to "succeed." The effort to succeed becomes an ever-absorbing task. Success is not as easily attained, however, as it had been during childhood. During the elementary and high school periods it was a relatively easy task to obtain attention and frequent successes — by good school marks, by excellence in athletics, by obedience to parents, or by a host of activities requiring relatively little effort. But adult competition is more intense, attention is not easily obtained, and success is measured in quite different terms. Wealth — the universal standard of success — cannot be accumulated overnight, and scholastic or artistic success is even more difficult to attain. Furthermore many of the adult's desires must be repressed. He must at all costs be an "adult" and cannot express his emotions freely. The constant repression results in many conflicts. Nor are those conflicts which originated during adolescence solved easily. Sex expression is still an important problem, and marriage, which supposedly solves sex problems, by no means solves all sex conflicts.

The adult is faced with serious problems of social and economic security, problems which he could previously refer to his parents. Because of his insecurities, the individual fears the future. In order to meet the impending problems, he learns to save for a rainy day, buy old age insurance, and plan for a time when one cannot work any longer. A "silent panic" thus grips many adults, a panic from which many attempt unconsciously to flee through a variety of abnormal behavior — from the incidental escape mechanisms to systematized neurotic symptoms. The economic strain on adults — especially men — is by no means a light one even in times of prosperity, not only because of the attempt to attain security but also because accumulation of money becomes the means of attaining prestige.

THE EFFECT OF INTELLIGENCE

It is fashionable among laymen and psychologists alike to speak of the effect of good intelligence upon the prevention of conflicts. The frequent implication that good intelligence is a positive factor in preventing conflicts is a fallacy obvious to any worker dealing with personality disorders. On the contrary, the more intelligent person is likely to develop a greater number of conflicts than the less intelligent. This does not mean that persons of high intelligence are more likely to be maladjusted, for intelligence fortunately allows an individual to evaluate his problems with greater clarity and understanding. Nevertheless, as we have seen previously, a person with intense conflicts often is unable to use his reasoning power in solving them, first, because of the emotional barrier created, and second, because he is not clearly aware of the nature or origin of his conflicts.

There are a number of reasons why an intelligent individual is likely to develop conflicts. The intelligent person makes observations quickly. He is alert to his environmental problems, he sees discrepancies between his home and school training ; he is likely to notice the injustices of the social order, and he is sensitive to a variety of subtle influences to which the less intelligent individual is insensitive. His intellectual curiosity and ambition create desires which are not easily attained.

Conflicts in turn also may increase a person's alertness, because of his conscious and unconscious attempts to solve them. Unless his conflicts are so intense that they overwhelm him emotionally, they stimulate him to activity. Those individuals who have few conflicts are content with their situation, and their intellectual life does not receive as much stimulation. Thus it is well known that a feeling of contentment and security is likely to be a detriment to an individual's personal progress. The detrimental effect of security is considered by some observers to be one of the reasons for the intellectual deterioration of many promising men. They feel economically and professionally secure, and are content, and they become progressively lethargic intellectually.

In the studies of mountain people, previously mentioned, the evidence showed that the fewer conflicts they had the less energetic and alert they were. On the other hand, those who had many social contacts and problems developed many conflicts. They were also more alert to actual and implied criticism and made all sorts of efforts to improve themselves. They were discontented with their conditions, and as a result made further progress, whereas those mountaineers with few conflicts accepted their situation placidly and made but a feeble effort at improving themselves.

Compensatory behavior of a creative type is more likely to develop in people of high intelligence, although compensatory reactions are common to people of all grades of intelligence. Persons of high intelligence are also better able to control their outward symptoms of internal maladjustment. Thus, complaining or hysterical-like manifestations are more likely to occur in people of mediocre intelligence. Because of their mediocre intelligence such people are difficult to treat from the psychiatric standpoint. They go from one clinic to another and from one psychiatrist to another without comprehending the intent of the proposed psychiatric treatment. The personal barrier against evaluating personal conflicts, which exists among all people, is complicated in such individuals by their lack of insight into the demands of their environment or into their own abilities. Their desires are often out of proportion to their capacities, and are also often entirely out of keeping with any possibility of their fulfillment. This is especially true of individuals who as children were over-dependent upon their parents and who were accustomed to obtain their desires without much personal effort. They find great difficulty in developing independence and often resort (unconsciously) to neurotic symptoms as a means of flight from reality. The neurotic symptoms are often symbolic of their efforts to be dependent upon someone, since many of the symptoms are regressions to a level of behavior characteristic of childhood.

CONSEQUENCES OF CONFLICTS

CONFLICTS, as we have seen, are often of great service in stimulating an individual to greater effort without which many of our accomplishments would be impossible. Many conflicts are detrimental to progress, however, because they overwhelm the person emotionally. A highly intelligent person may be as unproductive as a person of mediocre intelligence if his conflicts have produced emotional stress to the extent that he is continually occupied with himself.

When a person feels his frustrations keenly, and his conflicts remain unsolved, he is likely to seek, unconsciously, some form of indirect solution. Many solutions to conflicts are not highly desirable but do not cause maladjustment. The escape mechanism, for example, which is one of the common consequences of conflict, may take the form of traveling, unusual interest in matters which divert the individual's attention from his problems, and so on. When the escape mechanism takes the form of flight into illness, however, maladjustment follows. Flight into illness, typical of the neurotic individual, is unfortunately a frequent occurrence. The illness functions as an adequate device in diverting the person from his real problems and the unpleasant frustrations. He is now forced to pay attention to his gastro-intestinal difficulties or his cardiac palpitation or his headaches. He is now concerned with problems which are "real" and which are common to his fellow-men. He now can be articulate about his misfortunes and no longer need he be concerned about his present or expectant failure in his vocation or in the attainment of his goals. Whatever failures exist or are expected can no longer be ascribed to a defect of intelligence or a personal inadequacy, since it is extremely unpleasant to contemplate one's faults.

The escape mechanism is only one of the many forms of undesirable solutions of conflicts. Defense reactions and compensatory behavior of given types are frequently resorted to. Individuals are unaware of the basis of such behavior and the method adopted often become firmly fixated.

In a large number of cases conflicts remain unsolved, manifesting themselves in attitudes or characteristics which are at variance with the individual's true personality. Antagonistic, rebellious, and prejudicial attitudes often arise as a result of conflicts. Dislikes and hates also are often the expression of conflicts. We see such behavior not only in the reaction of one individual to another but also in the relationship between groups of people and between nations. When a person has an intense conflict of inferiority he may react by acclaiming his superiority and blaming others for his misfortunes. He also attempts to distort facts, developing logic-tight compartments in the face of facts which cannot be denied by anyone else. Groups of people behave in this way also, as witnessed by the behavior of various national or local groups.

The effect of conflicts is observed not only in persons who deviate from the normal but also in the everyday behavior of the average man. Everyone has had the experience of forgetting another person's name, his address, or his telephone number. In many cases the forgetting is due to indifference, but in other cases it is due to conflict. If for some reason a person is intensely disliked, forgetting his name or address or any other means of discontinuing the acquaintanceship serves the purpose of avoiding unpleasantness. Slips of the tongue or errors in writing are also often due to conflicts. In many cases these errors are unimportant and are overlooked by the person towards whom they are directed. In other instances when they are called to the attention of the individual making them he denies their intent. He speaks the truth when he insists that he did not mean to make the error, because it was actually made unintentionally.

Thus we see that conflicts often control the nature of the emotional life and determine overt behavior. Depending upon their frequency, intensity, and the issues they involve, conflicts determine normality or abnormality. If circumstances are favorable and if the individual has high intelligence and great perseverance, his conflicts may stimulate him to creative work of high importance. If the conflicts are numerous and intense, and if the individual is continually frustrated in his self-expression, the solution of his conflicts may take the form of neurotic or eccentric behavior.

THE FUNCTION OF PERSONALITY

STUDIES of the development and mechanism of conflicts are made essentially in order to understand the formation of personality characteristics and their role in the mental balance of an individual. Although it is not the purpose of this discussion to evaluate the usual problems of personality development, some general statements will be made. In our present state of knowledge, the term *personality* must be used in its conceptual meaning. This should not interfere with the use of the term in the study of definite problems of adjustment. In psychoanalysis, for example, the term "unconscious" is used as a concept rather than as a definite physiological or psychological entity. The unconscious, as psychoanalysts point out, is not contained in a definite part of the brain, nor is it a receptacle for definite psychological phenomena. Rather, it is a concept of a situation involving processes of which the individual is not aware. In the same way the term "personality" can be treated as a conceptual term to indicate the formation of characteristics which pattern themselves in definite, though not discrete groups. For this reason the term personality cannot be used in a definitive manner, but rather as a concept of an integration of a wide variety of characteristics.

Briefly stated, one of the most important functions of the various characteristics of personality is to maintain the individual's integrity (to attain and maintain an adjustment to his environment). Thus, both desirable and undesirable, both normal and neurotic characteristics, are unconsciously developed as a means of attaining an adjustmental equilibrium.

This does not mean, of course, that at some time or another every person does not consciously and purposely develop characteristics or maintain activities for the same reason. It does mean, however, that a number of characteristics which differentiate one personality from another are clustered into groups without the individual's awareness either of the purpose or of the mechanism by which the pattern is evolved.

Beginning with this concept of personality, one may further state, for example, that the symptoms of a neurotic individual have the same function as the characteristics of personality which are ordinarily considered to be normal and useful. This, many psychologists and psychiatrists have pointed out in different ways. For example, the symptoms of the neurotic individual are considered to be defensive flights from reality, often functioning in a regressive manner, as a return to an infantile symbolic period in which reality is not as harsh and in which the usual protective barriers are again reinstated. Flight, or escape, is the most primitive defense reaction showing itself in the behavior of the child who is protected from difficulties by adults, and who is given a pattern of escape which he is likely to utilize later on when he cannot face his difficulties independently. Thus, when an individual is unable to maintain his integrity in a competitive situation, he is often likely first to seek an escape. His conflicts may not allow him either to attain or to admit his desire to escape, and neurotic symptoms are likely to arise. Since he is not aware of the origin or function of these neurotic symptoms, he is less dissatisfied with such an escape.

This is clearly shown when the functions of the escape mechanism are pointed out to a neurotic individual. He usually denies that he even desires to escape his problems and very often unconsciously defends himself by even denying the reality of his symptoms, that is, by denying that his symptoms are psychological. Thus it is that the neurotic individual seeks a definite reason for his symptoms because he can thus unconsciously absolve himself of responsibility or of the sense of guilt which may arise because of his knowledge that he cannot face or solve his problems.

The characteristics of many anxiety neuroses illustrate this mechanism further. In the case of one individual, for example, the anxiety localized in a fear of developing dementia-praecox. He had sought the aid of many physicians because of "nervousness," restlessness, and the fear of becoming mentally abnormal. Whenever one physician assured him that the particular symptoms which he mentioned were not characteristic of dementia praecox, he elaborated on other symptoms to some other physician. Now, it is quite reasonable to assume that he consciously did not want to be mentally abnormal, and that, because he was a very intelligent person, he also realized consciously that his symptoms were far less serious from the standpoint of his social and personal relationships than those he would necessarily have if he were a dementia praecox patient. Unconsciously, however, he would have been at least temporarily satisfied with such a diagnosis because it would have absolved him of the deep sense of guilt that he had and would at the same time have obviated his continual emotional tension and the necessity of facing his conflicts, which were exceedingly painful.

Interpretations of personality are often made in terms of the outstanding emotional problems of the individual. Thus, some individuals are characterized as argumentative and quarrelsome, others as negativistic, still others as moody. Mention has already been made of one of the functions of anxiety, and psychiatrists have attempted to interpret other emotional reactions in terms of the maintenance of the integrity of one's personality.

Elation, for example, often functions as a means of obviating the necessity of looking into one's real problems by the activity and the egocentricity which the individual develops. This is true, of course, not only in abnormal states of elation, but in the frequent cycles of the troubled person who feels as if he has no problems at all and for a short period is quite "light-hearted." Even in the simplest emotional responses, such as casual anxiety and fear, and in the temper tantrums which are observed especially in young children, similar functions are present. The child who has temper tantrums often attempts to obtain attention through them or to obtain desired objects which he could not obtain otherwise. He unconsciously grasps at every opportunity to maintain a status which is being jeopardized for him by other people or by circumstances. In many instances, temper tantrums also function as a means of avoiding self-evaluation. This is frequently observed in children who are participating in games of skill. When they make an error or when they do badly, they frequently resort to sulking or stamping, or throwing objects around.

In the cases of many individuals, their conflicts may not be sufficiently intense to arouse symptomatic behavior except in circumstances when their security is jeopardized. In the behavior of a boy of twelve, this mechanism was clearly evident. He was a resident of a boarding school and lived in the dormitory of the older and brighter boys. Despite a physical handicap preventing him from using his left arm and leg freely and thus preventing him from participating in athletic activities, he assumed the role of a leader. The other boys came to him for advice and very often looked to him to settle their quarrels. He was interested in any boy who was willing to accept him as a leader.

The entrance of an older boy into the school changed his behavior, however. This new boy was two years older and was doing high school work. Some of the boys changed their allegiance to the newcomer. Difficulties arose in the dormitory and some of the boys complained that the twelve-year-old was becoming irritable with them. He became rebellious to directions which he ordinarily followed and refused to do his schoolwork. In conversation with him, he complained of the new boy, that he had spread false stories about him, and that he had stolen some of his belongings. It was necessary to alter some of the conditions so that he would continue to play a dominant role, although it was realized that the very necessity of doing so involved him in further egocentric behavior.

In the case of a girl of the same age, difficulties had arisen because she was unusually uncooperative. On a number of occasions she had run away from home and had been placed in a police detention home several times. One of the social service agencies placed her in several foster homes, but in each case difficulties arose because the girl refused to follow even the most ordinary directions and refused to take part in the activities of the home. Finally she was placed in a boarding school in the hope that impartiality and patience in dealing with her might mitigate the antagonism with which she ordinarily reacted to conditions which she thought were too authoritative. During the first week she adjusted very well and showed no difficulties, but thereafter she began to be resentful of each person who appeared to her to have some authority. Thus she resented the school teacher because she gave her schoolwork which she presumably did not like. She refused to cooperate with the nurse, with the housekeeper, and with everyone who had any part in directing her activities.

The consistent antagonism of this girl made it clear that this was a personality characteristic which was not directed towards any one individual. From the evidence obtained of her past behavior it seemed that the antagonistic attitudes functioned as a way of maintaining the integrity of her personality, that is, by a defense reaction as a means of avoiding a loss of "face" or status. Her physical appearance was somewhat ungainly. She had had a good deal of difficulty in school and had been reminded many times in her home of her inferiority. Her attachment to her father and her dislike of her mother were heightened by the fact that her mother had had great hopes for her and consequently attempted to bolster her by a good deal of criticism. The girl related how she often felt like running away from her classroom when she attended the public schools because she felt sure that the teacher thought very little of her and that the other children were always ready to make fun of her. Sometimes, she stated, she knew a lesson perfectly but could not get up to recite because she became "mixed up." On the one hand she asked to be taken out of school, but on the other, felt that she ought to continue so as to show other people that she was just as good as they were.

The behavior of this girl may be explained on the basis of her feeling of inferiority regarding her status and the consequent development of an antagonistic reaction as a means of warding off the criticism of others. Her experiences in school and in her home made her additionally sensitive to criticism and she often projected a critical attitude into others where none existed.

THE PROBLEM OF CONSTITUTIONAL DIFFERENCES

In the interpretation of conflict formation it is necessary to evaluate carefully the conditions which result in neurotic or other undesirable manifestations and those which cause but little disturbance. It is significant that some individuals adjust themselves satisfactorily in spite of their conflicts, whereas others develop anxieties, neuroses, or a variety of other undesirable behavior. The explanation by some psychiatrists that these differences are due to constitutional differences is not sufficiently verified by experimentation or observation. A systematic explanation was attempted by Kretschmer,[14] although his theory of constitutional personality make-up has not been specifically verified by other workers. Kretschmer's differentiation into cycloid and schizoid types, and the three types of physiological make-up, the athletic, asthenic, and pyknic is an attempt, in one sense, to explain the fundamental differences in emotional make-up, and its aberrations which occur when the environment is unfavorable to normal development.

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[14] Ernst Kretschmer, Physique and character, Harcourt, Brace and Co., Inc., New York, 1925, pp. 266.

Some corroborative evidence to the theory of constitutional differences has been advanced by Irwin[15] and others from studies of newborn infants. These observers have shown that newborn infants show individual differences in activity. Presumably these differences are carried on into childhood, and it is inferred that environmental conditions and individual problems and conflicts affect children with excessive "innate energy" differently from children with relatively little "energy."

Studies of children have also shown great differences in the tone of their skeletal muscles. These differences are supposedly not related to environmental or minor mental conditions, but affect the emotional responses. The child with high muscle tonus responds emotionally to conditions which have little influence upon a child with low muscle tonus.

The problem of constitutional make-up requires a good deal of further study before conclusions can be drawn. The investigations made thus far are suggestive and have drawn attention to the need to answer the question of the reason for the different responses individuals make to relatively similar conditions.

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[15] Orvis C. Irwin, The amount and nature of activities of newborn infants under constant external stimulating conditions during the first ten days of life, Genetic psychology monographs, 1930, 8, 1–92.

CHAPTER II

ATTITUDES AND CONFLICTS

THE ORIGIN OF ATTITUDES

A SATISFACTORY adjustment to a complex social order necessitates a large variety of attitudes. The daily problems which arise in connection with personal, family, and community relationships require a variety of attitudes which will allow the individual to adjust to the prevailing conditions without much conflict. Thus, the number and kinds of attitudes a person has depend to a large extent upon the number of conditions to which he must adjust and the nature and number of his personal problems.

Attitudes also are determined in part by the normality or abnormality of his adjustments. As an example, a person who is economically equal or superior to his fellowmen has different attitudes in regard to economic problems than the person who is in a low economic status. The individual who lives alone and has but few friends develops different attitudes toward family relationships than the person who lives with his family. The "socialite" has a different attitude toward the everyday workingman than the worker has toward his fellow-workers. Class distinctions and class hatreds frequently arise from the fundamental differences in the everyday problems which different individuals must meet in a social order organized economically and socially in such a way that conflicts are inevitable. The banker's attitude toward the functions of the Government in relation to the average man are quite different from the average workingman's attitudes.

Various writers have emphasized that an attitude is intimately related to some definite value which the individual has established for himself. An attitude is therefore always related to some specific problem. All attitudes thus involve a given reaction to some person, a group, a condition, or a concept. Attitudes involve problems of relationship, that is, they involve the individual in the selection of values and in relating these values to definite situations.

The selection of values in turn is dependent upon the problems in which the person is involved. As an example, a person living in the south or east is likely to be only distantly interested in the problem of the immigration of Japanese into California. He may be said to have no attitude towards the Japanese in California, although he might express an opinion. A Californian, on the other hand, is likely to be seriously involved in this problem. If he believes that such immigration will increase industrial competition, or cause a labor surplus, he is sure to develop an antagonistic attitude towards the Japanese. This attitude is in one sense a defense reaction against his own feeling of insecurity. He further tends to include not only the immigrants in this attitude but also the whole Japanese nation. In a similar way, a person living in a northern town where few negroes live, is likely to have a more tolerant attitude toward negroes than a person living in the south. If he has an unfortunate experience with a negro, however, his attitudes toward negroes are likely to change.

An attitude therefore represents, in part, an habitual mode of thinking, a predisposition to act in a given way. Faris [1] states, for example, an attitude exists as a tendency to act. Other experimenters have attempted to define the term attitude in different ways. Some writers emphasize the element of habit in the development of attitudes. Thus when a given stimulus is presented the individual tends to respond in his habitual way. Such a definition infers that attitudes result from direct training and conditioning. This is certainly true of the origin of many attitudes. On the other hand, new attitudes frequently arise irrespective of previous training or conditioning.

The relatively more important influence of personal problems than of previous training is emphasized by Bernard [2] who states, "An attitude is an incompleted or suspended or inhibited act." As Faris states, it is a reaction directed towards the termination of a moment of disorganization. This, W. I. Thomas emphasized many years ago when he showed that attitudes arise from crises which accompanied or preceded them. As an example of the origin of attitudes in crises, Faris states,[3] "Thus the new convert to a sect is often one who, puzzled and confused at the diversities of the world, accepts the solution that is given him with convincing assurance, and he is ready to define his world as he is taught even if this means taking on new attitudes that earlier he would have regarded as absurd or impossible."

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[1] Ellsworth Faris, Attitudes and behavior, American journal of sociology, 1929, 34, p. 271.

[2] L. L. Bernard, Attitudes and the redirection of behavior, Chapter I, Social attitudes, 1931, New York, Henry Holt and Co., Inc., 46–74.

[3] Ellsworth Faris, The concept of social attitudes, Chapter I, Social attitudes, 1931, New York, Henry Holt and Co., Inc., 3–16.

In the words of Bernard, attitudes have their origin in the necessity to reorganize one's behavior when the old attitudes no longer suffice for a satisfactory adjustment. Thus attitudes are preparatory reactions for actual behavior. This does not mean, however, that all attitudes express themselves in overt behavior. As we shall see later, many attitudes are consciously or unconsciously inhibited. Many cannot be expressed because of conflicting attitudes. Still others are but superficially related to one's daily life and are therefore manifested only in highly critical situations.

As many investigators have clearly shown, an attitude can be defined only in terms of the specific object or concept to which the individual is reacting. A person is said to have a rebellious attitude *towards* authority, or towards his parents, or employer, and so on. Another person may have favorable attitudes *towards* peace, his inferiors, and so on. It is evident that it is impossible to speak of a person's "general" attitudes. Each attitude must be specifically defined in terms of the value to which the person reacts.

A number of general classifications of attitudes have been attempted, however. Park and Burgess,[4] for example, classified attitudes into four categories : tendencies to withdraw, to approach, to dominate, and to yield. This classification was probably an attempt to reconcile attitudes with drives. House [5] classified attitudes into those involving personal, natural, cultural, and temporary social reactions. This is an attempt at a functional classification. There is so much overlapping in direction of adjustment, however, that this classification is probably of little help in defining the origin or function of specific attitudes. Attitudes have also been classified into neuro-muscular and neuro-psychic. Although the origin of these two types is supposedly the same, the latter express themselves ideationally in direct ways.

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[4] R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, Introduction to the science of sociology, Chicago, 1924, University of Chicago Press, pp. 1040.

[5] F. N. House, The range of social theory, New York, 1929, Henry Holt & Co., pp. 587.

The motivating force of attitudes arises in the attempt to solve a given problem. The strength of the resulting attitudes depends upon the emotional strength of the problem and the degree to which the person is involved in it. A problem which presents itself to a person daily results in stronger attitudes than a similar problem with which a person comes in contact only occasionally.

The introduction of new problems often tends to inhibit old attitudes. Under new circumstances new attitudes must be developed. The inhibition of attitudes often introduces conflicts which result in emotional disturbances. For example, the adolescent meets many new problems and is forced to develop new attitudes and to discard many he had developed previously. If he is unable to discard his old attitudes entirely, he has great difficulty in assuming new ones. Furthermore, the realization that he must discard the attitudes which reflect his early training and identifications frequently involves him in a sense of guilt and in conflict. This in turn retards the development of the new attitudes necessary for his new adjustments. Thus he is likely to develop the feeling that he does not belong either to the old or new group. If he cannot develop the attitudes necessary for acceptance into the new groups to which he aspires, his old attitudes and identifications may be reinstated and intensified. If he is only partially accepted by the new groups he may accept the new attitudes with great intensity in order to be accepted fully by the members of the new groups.

The young child has very few attitudes compared to the number found in adults. They are less intense and less fixed, partly because his adjustments do not involve as many critical problems, and partly because his intellectual and social growth requires constant change of attitudes. He is sheltered by his parents and is intellectually and emotionally dominated by them. The majority of his attitudes are therefore imitations of the attitudes of his parents and immediate friends. Furthermore, he has a limited understanding of the significance of many of the events in his environment. He does not need to make many choices, a factor of great importance in the development of attitudes. Many of his difficulties in regard to his attitudes arise only when he begins to alienate himself from domination by his home and attempts to adjust to a wider environment.

In the study of the reactions of children and adults it is important to differentiate between opinions and attitudes. Opinions generally arise from the influence of the immediate environment, that is, they are determined for the most part by the prevailing opinions of the groups to which the individual belongs. The pressure of the immediate environment causes the individual to assume the most dominant opinions as a way of adjusting most easily to his environment. This basis for opinion is seen not only in children but also in adults. A common example is seen in prevailing political opinion. Persons in given areas can be expected to vote the Republican or Democratic tickets. Thus given areas are predominantly Republican and others are predominantly Democratic. Many of the people in these areas do not have definite knowledge of the difference between these two parties. Differential political attitudes arise only when serious controversies arise or when personal or community problems are believed to be related to the political situation. Opinions are not usually related to an individual's basic problems or conflicts and are relatively easily modified by changing environmental conditions or even by incidental influences.

Another important factor in the development of opinions is the knowledge by the individual of what is expected of him by the individual or group to which he is adjusting at the moment. In clinical examinations of children it is often difficult to determine their true attitudes because they tend to agree with the examiner readily as a way of pleasing him. In many instances the individual's opinions may be far different from his attitudes. Some persons, for example, express opinions contrary to their basic attitudes as a way of obtaining attention or interest from others. Such individuals are sometimes considered to be unstable because they frequently change their opinions. In some instances, their opinions change frequently in order to avoid divulging their attitudes.

Many attitudes, as well as opinions, are also determined by custom and tradition and by the influence of family and friends. Such attitudes develop because of identification with the implications of the traditions or the family or friends. A person living in the far south, for example, has quite different attitudes towards negroes from those of a person living in the north. These attitudes may be quite intense and may influence his everyday reactions in regard to negroes or to any problem relating to negroes. His attitudes frequently arise as a result of community pressure rather than from personal experiences with negroes or with problems involved in community relationships.

Another example of the effect of social pressure is the remarkable difference in the attitudes of different persons towards moral problems. The customs and traditions of the family which impinge upon the individual from early childhood cause him to develop attitudes which serve as identifications rather than as choices between values. The intensity of these attitudes is determined in part by the strength of identification which the person requires. Thus, a person who has feelings of insecurity and requires the protection and affection of his family strongly identifies himself with the attitudes of his family as a way of maintaining his security. In the same way, the person who comes from a given geographical region and is perhaps defensive about his origin, identifies himself strongly with the attitudes common to that region. The greater the need for personal defense, the more intense are the identificatory attitudes.

THE EFFECT OF THE ENVIRONMENT

The nature of the environment and the number and kinds of situations to which the individual is forced to adjust determine many of his attitudes. The more complex the social organization of the community, the greater the number of problems the individual has to confront. When the social order presents a large number of problems, the individual must make a large number of personal adjustments. With an increase in the number of adjustments the individual is forced to make, choice of action becomes more and more difficult. Definite attitudes must then be evolved as a way of making these choices. In a relatively simple social order the individual is not forced to make as many social adjustments. Therefore there is less need for definitive attitudes. In addition to the need for making choices, communities with a complex social organization contain social pressures which become forces of importance in developing and molding attitudes.

In a recent experimental study [6] of the development of attitudes, children living in five communities of varying levels of social complexity were compared. These communities consisted of four mountain hollows and a village. Because it was difficult to define clearly degrees of cultural and social complexity, definite environmental factors were compared. The following are examples of the factors of the environment through which comparisons were made ; the number and condition of the roads leading to outside communities ; the number of telephones ; organization of industry ; the systematization of employment ; the number and use of bank accounts ; and organization of religious institutions. On the basis of these and other items of comparison, definite social and cultural differences were found between the four mountain communities.

The mountain community of the highest social level approached an organization of the type found in ordinary backward rural communities. The mountain community of the lowest social level was one of the most backward of the hollows found in the Blue Ridge Mountains. The children in this hollow had no definite responsibilities. There were few variations in their daily life. They rarely went to school and therefore had no academic competition. Economically, all the inhabitants were on a relatively similar level and there were therefore no comparisons and few envies. In consequence, self-regard and status were not active problems. The parents did not compete with their neighbors regarding their children. There were no purchased toys and little difference in the clothing that the various children wore. In consequence, the children had few dynamic problems and relatively simple choices. As a result, ordinary attitudes which are found in average children were not discovered in this hollow. There were few hostilities or attachments. Few of the children or adults had definite ambitions beyond those designed to satisfy their immediate needs. Attitudes involving criticism of others or self-criticism were practically non-existent. The children and adults lived relatively individual lives and had little need to relate themselves to each other except in the most simple fashion.

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[6] Mandel Sherman, The development of attitudes, The Payne Fund, New York, 1933, pp. 54.

In the mountain community of the highest social organization definite opinions and attitudes were observed. The children had relatively definite schooling. The parents vied with each other regarding their manner of living, their material possessions, and the progress of their children. A few of the families had bank accounts in the adjoining village and some had telephones. The accessibility of this community to the outside world introduced cultural influences which further increased the competition between the inhabitants. In this community the parents showed much more interest in their children, and definite hostilities and affectional relationships were observed. Children frequently expressed themselves forcefully about their brothers and sisters and about other children. Critical attitudes of others and self-criticism were frequent. These children were conscious of their personal, family, and community problems.

The differences between the concerns of these children and the children of the hollow of the lowest social order illustrate one aspect of their different attitudes. In the hollow of the lowest social order, the children were concerned mostly about the immediate problems of food and clothing. Their spontaneous conversation revolved about the weather, their houses, and their food. In the hollow of the highest social order a great many other concerns were observed. These children talked about their families, their school, their social relationships, and frequently about their ambitions. Definite social and community pressures were observed in this hollow. These pressures had a good deal of influence in determining the behavior and attitudes of the children. They no longer lived relatively individualistic lives ; their daily habits, practices, and attitudes, as well as their beliefs, were expressions of the community habits, practices and beliefs. It is not meant to imply that the inhabitants of the community of the lowest social order were not influenced by their environment. Such influences in the hollows of lower social organization were not as direct or as strong, however.

THE INFLUENCE OF PROBLEMS AND CONFLICTS

Those attitudes which strongly influence personality and behavior and which are not likely to change easily as a result of social pressure arise from personal problems and conflicts. Many attitudes arise when the individual finds himself in a crisis, that is, when he must make a choice between two opposing possibilities. The critical situation, frequently accompanied by conflict, produces emotional tension which forces the person to some action. The resulting attitudes therefore usually arise without deliberation or conscious premeditation, although deliberate action on a conscious level also frequently takes place. The attitudes arising under these conditions thus frequently represent a mechanism for the solution of conflicts, that is, the attitudes serve to release the emotional tension accompanying the conflicts. The release of emotional tension also serves to release the individual from the paralysis of action. His anxieties are thus also reduced and he is able to act more dynamically.

In most cases the individual is unaware either of the underlying conflicts or of the mechanism which he utilizes in his attempts to solve them. The underlying conflicts are only incompletely solved, however, and the person is forced to continue his given attitudes indefinitely. These attitudes may disappear, however, as Professor Bernard of Washington University has shown, when personal and emotional integration takes place in regard to a specific problem, that is, when for some other reason the individual's problems and conflicts are solved. The very same attitudes are likely to reappear, however, when the individual meets another critical situation. In other words, when the individual's security is again jeopardized by a similar problem or the reappearance of the conflict, similar or slightly modified attitudes reappear.

The more intense the conflict, the stronger are the resulting attitudes, because the intensity of the conflicts determines to a great extent the intensity of the individual's unconscious drive to solve them. A common example is the intense rebellious attitude which results from a conflict of insecurity. The individual often attempts to compensate for his feeling of insecurity by negating the importance of others through rebellion. The greater the sense of insecurity, the greater are the hostile and rebellious attitudes. The rebellious attitude is similar in mechanism to the behavior of the young child who attempts to overcome resistance to his desires by temper tantrums. Temper tantrums are, however, of a lower form of conscious behavior than attitudes.

Another example of the development of attitudes as a result of conflicts is seen in the attempts of various individuals to dominate others. There are many methods of dominance. There is, for example, the aggressive attitude, so that in action or words the individual attempts to make others feel that they are inferior to him. Some persons take a dominant attitude towards servants in the household or towards anyone who permanently or temporarily is in an inferior occupational or social position. The person who treats the waiter in a restaurant as an absolute inferior, ordering him about and complaining of the service, is generally an individual with feelings of inferiority who finds it necessary to solve his conflicts by taking an aggressively dominant attitude toward those who cannot easily retaliate. Such a person often attempts to obtain deference from those with whom he comes in contact and often selects friends who are either inferior to him and whom he can dominate, or those who, for one reason or another, are willing to be subservient. The very individuals who demand subservience from those whom they consider their inferiors are likely to be themselves subservient and ingratiating to those whom they consider their superiors. Although they appear to have strong and forceful personalities under some conditions, their behavior is just the opposite in situations in which they meet opposition.

Persistent criticism of others is also observed in persons with conflicts of inferiority. The individual who criticizes other persons at the first opportunity is generally one who himself is sensitive to criticism. The attitude of criticism is thus a defense against being criticized. The derogatory remarks that such an individual makes about his friends and acquaintances serve as a mechanism of negating their importance. In many instances adolescents and adults who were dominated by their parents during their early childhood react by attempting to dominate others through excessive criticism.

The following summary of the behavior of a twelve-year-old boy illustrates some factors of the conflict basis of excessively critical attitudes. He was the youngest of three children of elderly parents. According to the mother they were not in a position to give him adequate care, both because of their ages and because of economic difficulties. The other two children, who were eight and ten years older than he, made an excellent record in school but this boy had difficulty from the very beginning. He had a reading difficulty which caused some school retardation. He also presented many behavior problems which worried the parents.

The parents of this boy attempted to discipline him both by corporal punishment and by frequent scoldings. The first problem they observed was his reaction to food. He was finicky about eating and at times vomited immediately after eating. He had a number of temper tantrums and was negativistic to suggestions and directions. From the time he was eight years of age a good deal of bantering went on in the home. They scolded him and he in turn taunted them with remarks about their manners and attitudes. When he came to the boarding school he stated that he was very glad to be away from home. He said that he missed only his brother but believed that his parents were glad that he was out of the home. He reacted in a negativistic manner toward the other children. He criticized their dress, their behavior, and their interests. Whenever a new boy was admitted to the school he was the first to find fault with him. He also complained constantly about the members of the staff and found fault with conditions which most of the children did not notice. He was extremely sensitive to directions and corrections. He frequently came to the psychiatrist with statements that he was treated unfairly. On investigation it became apparent that his fault-finding and criticism were defenses against the fear that he himself was being criticized. His critical attitudes decreased only after a long period of treatment when he became more secure and when he no longer feared the attitudes of others.

As we shall see later, the hostile attitudes and behavior of many children are defense reactions against fear of criticism, resulting from a belief that they are affectionally rejected by their parents. Their sensitivity to their own real or imagined inferiorities results in the projection of persecution upon others and therefore in defensive measures.

Self-criticism and persistent over-modesty frequently arise from the same bases as criticism of others. The individual attempts to obtain approbation from self-criticism and modesty. The individual who frequently negates himself generally utilizes this behavior to obtain sympathy and attention from others. Such individuals probably are always egocentric. They express their egocentricity in this manner rather than in the usual aggressive and dominant behavior seen in the majority of egocentric persons.

THE MAINTENANCE OF PRESTIGE

The nature of a person's attitudes often depends upon the method he utilizes in maintaining his prestige and self-regard. As an example, identification with given groups is frequently a method of maintaining importance and prestige. The continuation of this identification necessitates, however, definite attitudes towards those who are not members of this group. The group to which a person belongs supposedly contains virtues which no other group has. As a way of differentiating himself from persons of other groups and thus strengthening his identification with his own group, the individual develops prejudicial attitudes toward others. In some way or other people belonging to different groups are stamped as undesirable, and under given conditions antagonistic attitudes arise.

Such identifications with the attendant attitudes are seen, for example, amongst members of fraternities who, in one way or another, point out the inferiorities of members of all other fraternities. A strong political identification is also likely to give rise to prejudicial or antagonistic attitudes toward those who belong to an opposing political group. Thus the ardent Republican is likely to believe that the person who belongs to the Socialist party is somewhat abnormal. By calling a Socialist abnormal and queer, he attains an importance for himself which mere membership in such a large organization could not ordinarily attain. In the same way a person who comes from the south and who has conflicts of insecurity, is likely to exaggerate the virtues of southerners and the defects of northerners.

Regional and national antagonisms thus often arise in part from the attempts of the various groups to attain or maintain a prestige which is being threatened. Thus in this country various national groups maintain a solidarity which is certainly not necessary from the political standpoint nor from the social or economic. Because these national groups are numerically and socially minority groups, they are unconsciously forced to develop strong identifications with the particular characteristics of their groups as a method of combating the prejudicial attitudes of the dominant group. The people of the minority groups at the same time develop prejudicial attitudes toward other minority groups and toward the dominant group as a further way of maintaining their own importance and prestige.

Aside from group identifications there are often identifications with important personages of the group. Every so often the Poles, or the Germans, or the Lithuanians of a large city celebrate the birthday or the death of some famous person of their own nationality who was of great importance to the dominant group of the country. Thus each member of the given group can attain at least momentary importance and attention from the members of the dominant group who ordinarily look upon them with some disfavor. In the same way members of one national or religious group develop attitudes toward all members of another group because of personal attitudes toward some particular activity. For example, many of those who favor Fascist types of government have developed antagonistic attitudes toward Frenchmen because of the recent change of the French government to Socialist dominance. Even the favorable attitudes toward French culinary skill or styles of dress have now been changed by these persons to unfavorable attitudes. In a like way those people who favor a socialistic form of government are likely to have changed their previous antagonistic attitudes toward Frenchmen and now have a liking for the various attributes of the French people to which they previously may have been either indifferent or antagonistic.

When a person reads about the state of affairs in Germany he may form an opinion either directly from the statements made in a given publication or as it is modified by prevailing opinion. He can change his opinion rather easily by reading a subsequent statement giving different information or a different viewpoint. But if he happens to be Catholic or Jew, if his previous experiences with Germans have been unpleasant, if he has suffered from religious intolerance, if he happens to be a laborite, communist or socialist, his attitudes cannot be changed easily, if at all.

In any such case his attitudes have been formed as the result of his conflicts and not because of the precise information he has gathered (although of course he must have some factual information). If, on the other hand, he is a Ku Klux Klan advocate, his attitude may be pro-German, since he is already committed to an anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish attitude. His previous conflicts, in this case, are reawakened by the situation in Germany and he again resolves them partly by the intensification and reawakening of his previous attitudes, now expressed in a different fashion.

THE FACTOR OF INTELLIGENCE

Intelligence does not play a predominant role in the formation of attitudes, as many persons suppose. A given amount of intellectual ability is important, of course, even if only in order that the individual may comprehend his problems. It has been shown, for example, that within limits the number of conflicts a person has depends in part upon his degree of intelligence. The higher the intellectual ability of the individual, the more alert and sensitive he is likely to be to the problems he meets. Therefore, the more likely is he to develop conflicts. On the other hand, the more intelligent person is more able to comprehend the meaning of his problems. Thus he is likely to pay more attention to facts than the person of less intelligence. Since intensely toned emotional reactions are concomitants of attitudes, the factor of intelligence is, however, of relatively less importance in the formation of attitudes than in the ability to solve problems or conflicts.

The processes of intellectualization often takes three forms :

1. Reasoning. In this form of intellectualization, the individual responds by a deliberate premeditated evaluation of the facts involved in the given problem with the minimum amount of emotional influence. This type of intellectual response is seen most often only when the individual reacts to problems which have little relationship to his security or integrity. One may respond by reasoning to a non-personal problem, but it is difficult indeed to respond in this way to a personal problem which involves one's status or security. Under such conditions emotional

reactions and a variety of attitudes interfere with factual reasoning.

2. Dissociated intellectual activity. This form of intellectualization is exceedingly common. Rationalization, for example, is one form of dissociation. Rationalization involves the submergence or suppression of the true facts. The individual explains his behavior in such a way that it sounds plausible both to himself and to others. He is thus able to evade realities, and at the same time to appear to be normal in his intellectualization. The "water-tight" compartment method of intellectualization is also observed in most people. By dissociating his reasons and his attitudes, the individual may retain contradictory beliefs without being aware of the contradictions. Thus he may have a variety of different and contradictory attitudes which allow him to adjust to a variety of diverse conditions.

3. Emotionalism. Instead of evaluating facts and reasons, the individual may respond by strong emotional attitudes. As has already been mentioned, the individual who identifies himself with a particular group, say, a given political party, negates immediately any facts which tend to bring out the importance of the opposition group. Thus the individual develops many defenses, dislikes, and strong emotional identifications. When necessary, he may attempt to give plausible reasons for his behavior. Actually, most of his reactions are motivated by personal conflicts which he tends to minimize when they are pointed out to him.

One of the reasons that intelligence is such a small factor in the development of attitudes is the individual's unawareness of many of them. A typical example of this lack of awareness of one's true attitudes is the reaction of many persons to political problems. Many persons may call themselves liberal but when a critical situation arises which requires them to face an issue they may express conservative attitudes. Many of our attitudes do not have the opportunity for expression since we meet critical situations only on relatively rare occasions. When such occasions do arise, however, the individual is often surprised at his reactions. Thus the contradiction between his opinions and his attitudes may confuse him when further issues arise in which he must make choices in one direction or another.

Many psychologists believe that discrepancies between a person's opinions and attitudes are indications of intellectual dishonesty. This may be accepted if we are sure to distinguish between overt dishonesty, of which the individual may be aware, and intellectual dishonesty, of which he may be totally unaware. Thus, a person may express the opinions of his group because they serve to adjust him easily to the other members of the group. His opinions may be wholly unpremeditated and without conscious purpose and therefore his motives for their expression may not be based upon dishonesty. The degree of intellectual dishonesty varies with the general personality make-up of the individual. It exists, however, in variable degrees in nearly every person. As an example, tactfulness and diplomacy may be expressed without any deliberate dishonesty. On the other hand, some individuals are aware of their opportunistic behavior. When such behavior is called to their attention they rationalize it as a necessary mechanism of adjustment.

Rationalizations are often difficult to differentiate from dishonesty. In both instances the individual is able to reconcile his behavior and attitudes with contradictory facts. He distorts the significance of facts to his satisfaction, without being aware of the mechanism of his behavior. As an example, the politically conservative person who has conflicts of insecurity may be desperately opposed to social planning or to industrial supervision by the government. If he is presented with facts showing that the industrialists themselves have behaved badly during the depression he counters with some such statement as "World conditions have caused our depression," or, "Industrial cycles are normal and if the government interferes it will be worse." Now, it is quite futile to argue with him or to persuade him with facts and figures. He has developed a determined attitude because of his personal problems and conflicts, and only when these problems and conflicts are reached can his attitudes be influenced.

Determined, unswaying attitudes are also seen in some politically "radical" people, who are as immune to reasoning as are conservatives. Their "radical" ideas frequently develop as an expression of personal conflicts which are projected into social principles. If such a person is subjected to detailed questioning regarding his beliefs, he may either refuse to discuss the questions or may become incensed with his inquirer. One might perhaps dismiss such a person with the explanation that he is steeped in the "cult" of his beliefs and not in its fundamental principles or problems. A more typical example is the individual who attempts to explain all diseases in terms of some religious principle. He is thoroughly immune to facts and realities. He insists upon the reality of his beliefs, following which all explanations are easily forthcoming.

Fervent adherence to a principle or a cause cannot be looked upon as always being a detriment, for, as previously intimated, our social structure is strengthened by persons who may speak of the principles of Thomas Jefferson and George Washington without being in the least aware of the nature or significance of those principles. These people frequently fear change in our social and political system because of conflicts of insecurity. The more intense these conflicts, the more vehement they are in upholding custom and tradition. This does not mean that a person who believes that changes are necessary feels personally secure. On the contrary, the very fervor with which some people seek a change in our social structure may be an indication of their feelings of insecurity.

The fact that a person may have a number of conflicts, each involving a different problem, accounts for the existence of a variety of attitudes, one contradictory to another. A person may believe, for example, in equal rights and opportunities for everyone but at the same time uphold a system of exploitation. Now, it is clear that his attitude towards equal rights and opportunities may be a defensive measure because of conflicts created by social and economic frustrations. At the same time the very frustrations and the resulting conflicts may have stimulated a desire to rise above his obstacles and to be free from the economic restraints of the average man. He, too, wishes to enter the circle of the economically superior, and his secret hope which he does not admit even to himself determines his attitude favoring the "capitalistic" system. Others favor a system of private capitalism as a reaction to a fear of being placed on a par with their fellow-men.

Most individuals entertain an attitude of superiority of one sort or another, created by the competitive system and the drive for success which function from early childhood. The fears and insecurities resulting from the constant anxiety of attaining superiority and prestige cause such individuals to develop antagonistic attitudes towards current trends in government on the supposition that it would tend to equalize all men — and few persons have a sense of security sufficient to make them unconcerned about their superiorities. In the same way much of the behavior of the everyday man is full of such discrepancies — the business man who prays in church on Sundays for justice to all but who is unfair to his employees, the religious fanatic who in the name of God persecutes "nonbelievers," the political liberal who cannot tolerate his opponents, and so on.

DEFENSE REACTIONS AND ATTITUDES

MANY attitudes are developed as defense reactions, that is, the attitudes function as defenses to a conflict which the individual is unable to solve successfully. Some people take every opportunity to defend their attitudes or to inform others of their attitudes. Without being asked for their attitudes they inform their friends and acquaintances of their beliefs regarding religion, politics, social and economic problems. The degree to which they attempt to impress others with their attitudes and their defense of their own beliefs are indications of the degree of their unconscious conflicts. The emotional defense of their own doctrines and the simultaneous assault upon the beliefs of others serve the same mechanism — that of avoiding an intellectual evaluation of their own beliefs. These people have a vague awareness that their attitudes cannot bear close scrutiny and as a result they are stimulated to an uncalled-for defensive reaction, often bringing with it a violent reaction to the beliefs and attitudes of others.

The defensive mechanism is the basis of many instances of race prejudice and religious intolerance. If a person, or a group, or a nation is secure in the belief of superiority there is no need either for defensive reactions or for aggressive measures against others. In many instances this security is lacking, and in order to compensate for this lack assaults are made against the opposition. It is the person who feels inferior and insecure who picks quarrels in order to have the opportunity to prove his superiority. Thus, also, a nation insecure in her own strength picks quarrels with its neighbors in order to show its right to superiority. The attempt is artificial, no doubt, but the people themselves are not aware of this artificiality. Personal intolerances and cruelties often also arise out of a similar mechanism — the necessity of bolstering one's security and the resulting overcompensation by minimizing the importance of others.

Sudden and intense changes of attitudes are not common but they are not infrequent and are often accomplished with dramatic results. They are in most cases the result of overwhelming conflicts which produce intense emotional tension and imbalance. In the process of the attempt (unconsciously) to solve his conflicts (in the process of regaining balance) the attitudes of the individual appear to change suddenly. Because the changed attitudes do not solve the basic conflicts the individual in turn is forced to defend the new attitudes with vehemence. Such is the case in moral or religious conversion. The converted person is always more vehement in maintaining his new attitudes than the person who has had similar attitudes for a long time. Such a person is actually *defending* his attitudes because of a vague intellectual realization that his conversion has not solved his conflicts.

The religious convert protests the irreligious attitudes of others. Now, he is really insecure in his own position and in order to bolster his own security is forced to assume aggressive attitudes towards others. He is forced to assume the religious depravity of everyone not fully in accord with him. Similarly the vice crusader often suffers from conflicts of morality. He may have desires which are out of keeping with the existing social standards. By his crusades against vice he unconsciously absolves himself of his sense of guilt. The greater his conflicts and the more intense his sense of guilt the more ardent he is in uncovering vice in others. More than that, he unconsciously gratifies his desires by looking for vice activities and thus vicariously has experiences under the guise of a crusader. This gives him experiences he could not have otherwise and at the same time protects him from the feelings of guilt which the ordinary person might have.

Thus, in a sense, the vice crusader is much less virtuous than the average citizen and the evangelist is less religious than the occasional churchgoer. The crusader is an exhibitionist who takes part in erotic experiences without being open to self-criticism and to the criticism of his fellow-citizens. Indeed, his conflicts of guilt are partially solved, for others now consider him a virtuous person; he is now a model to be imitated by others.

CHANGE OF ATTITUDES

New attitudes often appear to arise, giving the outsider the impression that a change has taken place in the beliefs of the individual. Such changes, however, often are not genuine, that is, the supposedly new attitudes may have existed previously but were prevented from expressing themselves because of social or cultural inhibitions. Many attitudes come to the surface at a time when social sanction is furnished by a leader or a group. This is seen in some of the lynchings of negroes in the south. At these times the individuals can express their most intense attitudes without the cultural or legal restraints which inhibit their behavior otherwise. The individual of a lynching group is not bent primarily, if at all, upon seeking "justice" nor even upon revenge for the individual crime allegedly committed. He is seeking primarily revenge upon the negro as a member of a race he hates. The alleged crime of the negro and the sanction of the group give him impetus to his behavior.

It is obvious that these individuals are part of a large group of whites who have developed a defensive attitude towards their importance and superiority, for the lynchings and other repressive and persecutory actions are attempts to bolster their superiority. And it is also obvious that an individual does not assume offensive action against others unless he is on the defensive. In the release of other race and religious hatreds the defensive attitude is also apparent ; the so-called new attitudes in reality being the appearance of old attitudes which are allowed to be exhibited because of the lifting of restraints. All sorts of excuses are given for the new attitudes, but these reasons or excuses are usually rationalizations in order to ward off self-criticism and the criticism of other groups.

Mention has been made of the difficulty of changing old attitudes. Often such changes are difficult to make because, although the individual may consciously want to make a change, his conflicts prevent him from doing so.

Indeed, in many cases the awareness of the necessity to change an attitude may intensify one's conflicts and further impede any change. The necessity to change an attitude often implies to the individual the fact that he has erred previously, and everyone is resistant to such an implication. Sometimes a change is made possible by rationalization, often involving the blaming of others for having received erroneous impressions or misinformation.

In almost every case of a change of attitude the individual attempts to prove to himself and to others that his old attitude was necessary under conditions existing previously and that the change to the new attitude is due to a change of external forces. The individual thereby loses no prestige and is able to defend his new attitudes with as much vigor and righteousness as he had defended his old attitudes. The less sure he is of the correct basis of his new attitudes, or if he is forced into the assumption of new attitudes by circumstances or group pressure, the more vehement he becomes in defending his new attitudes, paradoxical as it seems. We have seen this phenomenon in the illustration of the attitudes of the religious convert whose conversion is based but little upon intellectual analysis. His very doubt about his new attitudes causes him to assume a belligerent reaction against doubt not only by others but also by himself.

Conflicts involving doubt and inferiority are at times the cause of the development of attitudes of hatred and suspicion involving individuals or groups. A person hates a foreigner most when he feels that he is at a disadvantage in competing with him. Foreigners are most welcome when they do not compete with us, when they can do the menial tasks which we are glad to avoid. But when they begin to compete with us for coveted positions our attitudes are likely to become suspicious. We then advance all sorts of reasons for our belief that they are undesirable elements in our society. Thus, for example, the negro in the far south is not disliked — indeed, a sort of affection even exists for him — as long as he "keeps in his place." But once he begins to compete with the white person, hatred for him develops and all sorts of reasons are given to show that he is undesirable and should not be allowed the privileges of a free man. During this economic depression such attitudes are becoming intensified because the white man is now glad to work at menial tasks which he had previously assigned to the negro. The large increase in the number of lynchings of negroes in the south during 1933 is some indication of the influence of an increasing sense of (economic) insecurity upon attitudes which are not expressed openly during periods when conditions are fairly favorable. It is common knowledge that many conflicts and attitudes lie dormant when people are busy and when they believe that they are making economic or personal progress. But when they become personally or economically insecure their old attitudes and conflicts come to the surface and are often intensified by their conscious and unconscious attempts to justify or rationalize their failures.

A sense of impending insecurity may prevent a change of attitude. In any personal or national crisis a large number of people resist a change of attitude because they fear that a change may mean further insecurity. "At any rate I am fairly well off under this program ; why should I change ?" is an answer we commonly hear to the question of broad social or economic changes. Sometimes the individual's conflicts may be intensified by the necessity to change his attitudes. Thus a mass movement in a new direction often isolates many individuals and may intensify their old attitudes as a defensive reaction. The new social forces and pressure may indeed intensify or reawaken conflicts which have lain dormant. Thus many people in times of rapid social change may become reactionaries although they may have previously been fairly liberal. Their previously expressed attitudes may no longer be valid or fashionable and therefore no longer function as elements of prestige. As a result these individuals are likely to develop conflicts of insecurity which make for still further conservative attitudes towards social and political issues.

Conservative attitudes towards moral and religious problems — attitudes out of keeping with the trend of the times — are often accompanied by conflicts and sometimes are the result of personal conflicts. We frequently find individuals who are genuinely shocked at the present moral and religious standards. One young lady of twenty-two who sought psychiatric aid stated that she felt uncomfortable in the presence of women who smoke. She disapproved of her husband's smoking and his refusal to discontinue the habit caused her a great deal of distress. She expressed her disapproval of the excessive card playing of her friends. She also refused to attend many movies because she felt that the love scenes were immorally presented. She was relatively isolated socially because her friends and acquaintances disapproved of her as much as she did of them. She was aware that her attitudes were not shared by the majority of people in her community. But she rationalized this discrepancy by the belief that "the present times have turned the heads of most people."

The basis of this woman's attitudes became clearer when her past history was analyzed. She had been reared in a morally restricted home. Her parents had frequently discussed with her the immoralities of the present age and the many serious results of a "loose" life. She had never been able to discuss sex problems with them because of their belief that even discussion of such problems indicates a personal "lust." On two occasions, as an adolescent, she had repeated a "sex" story which she heard from other girls. She was severely scolded for her interest in such stories. She gradually developed a sense of guilt regarding her own moral attitudes which caused her to overemphasize the supposed immoral attitudes of others.

In this case, as in many others, the conservative attitudes towards moral problems arose from personal conflicts which originated during adolescence. This woman's desire for full expression was thwarted by inhibitions resulting from the attitudes established during her adolescence. She projected immorality into every situation which aroused her old conflicts. In reality she had a desire to act as the others whom she criticized but her personal frustrations resulted in condemning them.

The question has often arisen regarding the relationship between unusually conservative attitudes and intelligence. We know, for example, that a relationship exists between the nature of an individual's conflicts and his attitudes. It has also been established that the degree of an individual's intelligence partly determines the number of conflicts he is likely to develop. It is probable, therefore, that the ability to change one's attitudes is partly determined by the degree of intelligence. The highly intelligent individual is likely to observe more quickly discrepancies in social justice and is alert to the changing needs of a society. The less intelligent person is obtuse to the numerous social problems which require constant changes of attitudes. The individual of mediocre intelligence is likely to react to most social problems in a personal and emotional manner, although, of course, this is true also of the highly intelligent person, but to a lesser degree. The less intelligent and informed are likely to be suspicious of social change, as if change meant only the inevitable breakdown of important values.

A similar mechanism of conservatism is often seen within family relationships. In addition to the numerous factors which determine conservatism or liberalism, intelligence of a high order is a prerequisite to a tolerant and liberal attitude. Parents who cling to tradition and conservatism in the treatment and training of their children are more likely to be of mediocre intelligence than those who are sufficiently flexible to make the requisite attitudinal changes demanded by social progress. Such parents are likely to be authoritative, dominant, and punitive in their relationships with their children. They restrict the free expression of their children partly as a defense reaction in forcing their own viewpoints upon them. Such parents are also likely to be over-ambitious for their children, as an unconscious compensatory mechanism for their own defects.

THE PERSISTENCE OF ATTITUDES

THE persistence of old attitudes in the face of new facts is often caused by the inability of an individual to comprehend the problems with which he is confronted. As political scientists have pointed out, many persons give the appearance of a refusal to change their attitudes because of reasoning. In reality this refusal to change may be due to their confusion regarding the issues or values involved. When a political situation involves a conflict between keeping the old order and changing it, for example, many people content themselves with the statement that "Things were good enough for the founders of our country and they are good enough for us." Such a statement implies a reasonable understanding of the issues at hand. As mentioned previously, however, in many cases it is a rationalization by the individual due to his inability or unwillingness to admit his lack of understanding of the problems.

Most attitudes change very little because they are incorporated in the intellectual and emotional pattern of the individual. Beginning with the post-adolescent period, the personalities of most individuals and their attitudes are rather well fixated and change but little with changing environment. Experiences in which emotional trauma are involved, however, often change an individual's attitudes to a great extent.

In the development of most attitudes a process of slow integration is observed under the influence of many experiences. These attitudes are finally fashioned out of the information which becomes specific with growth. The young child, for example, is not expected to have attitudes regarding economic problems or governmental conditions. He develops attitudes toward such problems, however, as soon as he becomes fully aware of the supposed meaning of these objects or conditions.

In most cases the first attitudes that develop towards a given condition are intense and then become modified as the individual's interests broaden and as he also obtains more information. Indeed it has been claimed that most prejudices would disappear if the persons with these prejudices would obtain first-hand experience with the objects or individuals against whom they are prejudiced.

According to Allport [7] four conditions are generally observed in the formation of attitudes. Amongst these are trauma. Allport states that a permanent attitude may be formed "as the result of a compulsive organization in the mental field following a single intense emotional experience." A traumatic experience may cause a change in the personality pattern whereby definite attitudes arise. These attitudes may be maintained in spite of the later discovery of their origin.

The attitudes which arise from imitation of the attitudes of parents and others who have prestige for the individual may assume functions relating to the conflicts of the individual irrespective of their conflict origin. For example, an individual may have a prejudicial attitude toward foreigners. This attitude may have arisen as a result of the imitation of his friends or parents. Nevertheless, they may function efficiently in easing some of his conflicts because this attitude may assume a secondary function of maintaining his personality integrity. For example, an individual who is insecure in his professional or economic status may divert his attention from his own insecurities by prejudicial activities against foreigners. Not only is he able to evade his immediate conflicts, but he is also able to maintain an energetic drive towards, say, the goal of ridding the country of undesirable aliens. The prejudicial attitude against foreigners now assumes the function of giving the individual an important place in the community.

As Allport and others have shown, many, if not most, of the important attitudes are formed during adolescence, that is, during the period of greatest insecurity. The adolescent attempting to "find himself" and beset by numerous conflicts, is thus able to solve many of his problems through the formation of attitudes intensely toned emotionally. Many of his attitudes may change with growth. Others, however, remain constant. The maintenance of adolescent attitudes throughout life is frequently observed. It is due to the inability of the individual to solve the conflicts which are the basis for these attitudes. These fixed attitudes may change, however, when another crisis occurs ; in other words, when new and intense conflicts suddenly arise. The reorientation to the new conflicts demands either modification or abandonment of the old attitudes.

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[7] Gordon W. Allport, Attitudes, in A Handbook of social psychology, edited by Carl Murchison, Clark University Press, Worcester, 1935, 798–844.

Modification of attitudes, as has already been mentioned, is difficult to accomplish in adults. The younger the individual, and therefore the less fixation of attitudes, the more easily can his attitudes be modified. A number of experimental studies have been made upon the influence of educational experiences on given attitudes. Some experimenters found significant changes in attitudes as a result of educational influence, whereas others found little change.[8] For example, Young found that no change occurred in attitudes toward racial problems after a course in sociology, whereas Biddle found a significant change after lessons in propaganda. Common beliefs and superstitions are only slightly affected by education. Superficially, there seems to be a great change, but in critical situations the old beliefs and superstitions arise. Education is also ineffective in regard to scientific attitudes unless training is given early in life. Thus adults may claim that they believe in scientific explanations but will actually use tradition and superstition in the explanation of many phenomena.

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[8] A. Lichtenstein, Can attitudes be taught? Johns Hopkins University Studies in Education, 1934, 21, pp. 89.

Education may have an effect on attitudes when the values of the individual change. Thus, extensive changes of attitudes are seen during adolescence when the individual is highly susceptible to new information and new influences. In this respect Symonds [9] found no change in social attitudes from the eighth grade through the college senior year. Jones [10] also found that the college course had only slight effect upon attitudes. Goodwin Watson found that when a course is specifically directed changes in attitudes do take place. As an example, the scores on attitudes of "fair-mindedness" increased after classes on race problems.

MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDES

One of the most important problems which faces the psychiatrist and psychologist involves the prediction of behavior on the basis of the known attitudes. Mention has already been made of the difficulty of predicting behavior, first because it is difficult to discover the variety of attitudes which a person may have, and second because new conditions, new problems, and new conflicts may alter the previously existing attitudes.

In regard to the measurement of attitudes, it is obvious that it is impossible to measure the attitudes of a person either in type or intensity by merely asking him questions.

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[9] Percival M. Symonds, Diagnosing personality and conduct, The Century Co., New York, 1931, p. 235.

[10] E. S. Jones, The opinions of college students, Journal of applied psychology, 1926, 10, 427–436.

The interview is generally unsatisfactory for a variety of reasons. The person may not know his attitudes. This is especially true in the case of the person with intense conflicts. Such a person represses many of the pertinent attitudes necessary for an evaluation of his personality, especially those which are either the cause or the result of his conflicts. Under the conditions of the ordinary interview, he may be forced to assume attitudes which, if accepted, generally result in a false diagnosis. The individual may also express himself as he believes society requires, or he may express beliefs, opinions, and what seem to be attitudes because he realizes the wishes of the examiner, and therefore attempts to please him. At best the interview can be employed to obtain the opinions of the individual. But one cannot be sure that even the opinions obtained are spontaneous and reflective of his real problems. In general most interviews assume a third-degree method, that is, the individual generally realizes that he is being examined and therefore is on his guard no matter how friendly the relationship may be between the examiner and the examinee.

Although it is far easier to conduct interviews with adults than with children because of the greater linguistic ability and verbal ease, adults generally realize the importance of the procedure. They therefore tend to inhibit beliefs and distort every statement in relation to the goal they wish to attain. From this standpoint attitudes are more easily obtained from children because they are more naive in the interview situation and do not see the implication of the interview as clearly. But even children realize the necessity of inhibition and modification of their views because of the various social pressures which have already been utilized by parents and teachers in the control of their behavior.

The life history method has been used extensively by sociologists. Professors Burgess of the University of Chicago and Sutherland of the University of Indiana have collected valuable material on the attitudes of various maladjusted individuals. The life history consists essentially of a detailed narrative of the individual's memories of his past experiences and reflections. The life history cannot be depended on to furnish an accurate description of a person's past behavior. Each individual is likely to distort his story, and many gaps are evident in the narrative. Despite the distortions, frequent elaborations, and falsehoods, significant clues may be obtained regarding the individual's attitudes. The very distortions and the emphasis the individual places upon given incidents are necessary material for an evaluation of his attitudes. The life history seems to be most applicable when formal methods of examinations and frequent interviews cannot be employed.

Child development workers for many years have utilized various play techniques for an evaluation of attitudes. In nursery schools valuable clues may be obtained from observations of children's reactions to each other in play situations. The kinds of games children play, the verbal phantasy that they express, and the imaginative reactions to various play materials furnish useful data for the diagnosis of attitudes. At best this procedure is only subjectively interpretive, but under controlled conditions valuable information for further evaluation may be obtained. In recent years psychoanalysts have adopted observation of play as their most important technique in the psychoanalytic diagnosis of children. Unfortunately because of the lack of precise experimental procedures and data the particular theory of the examiner influences the interpretations made.

The attitudes of children have also been studied by an examination of their interests. Paul H. Furfey of the Catholic University, among others, has done much valuable experimentation with children's interests. Furfey's developmental age scale [11] is valuable not only from the standpoint of an attempt to measure levels of maturity, but also because such a measurement may be a valuable index to an individual's attitudes. In the measurement of maturity Furfey obtained statements to questionnaires regarding reading and play interests as well as direct attitudes. It is assumed by Furfey that the reading and play interests of children are determined by their maturity. Furfey believed that the maturity of the individual is determined by maturational processes partly influenced by social conditions. Most observers believe, however, that the social conditioning is the most important factor which determines the attitudes of an individual, and therefore his interests. Lehman and Witty have made a number of studies of the play of children and found that children do not pass through various "stages." On the contrary, their play and other interests are determined by their social backgrounds and their immediate environment.

The interests of adults which are obtained through interviews and questionnaires, are not as directly related to attitudes as are those of children. This is obvious because of the effect of training upon adults' interests.

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[11] Paul H. Furfey, Developmental age, American journal of psychiatry, 1928, 8, 149–157.

Also adults tend to inhibit the expression of many pertinent interests under the conditions of the interview and in replies to the questionnaires.

Various association tests have been found to be valuable in the diagnosis of attitudes and, indirectly, in obtaining clues to mental conflicts. Direct association tests, such as the Kent-Rosanoff, have been used effectively both with normal and neurotic individuals. Both in the Kent-Rosanoff [12] tests and in the Woodrow-Lowell [13] modification for children, various indices have been employed for interpretation of conflict and attitude. In such direct association tests the individual is required to respond immediately to the stimulus words that have been given to him. He is required to reply with a single word and not with a synonym or interpretation or repetition. If a stimulus word has emotional implications or is associated by the individual with some mental conflict, his response may vary from that given by the average person. Thus he may hesitate before replying, indicating emotional blocking, with a word relating to some mental conflict. The degree of blocking as measured by the time elapsed between the stimulus and response word and the variation of the response word from the average, are the most valuable clues in this type of test. When such clues are obtained, further examination is necessary for an exact definition of the individual's disturbing attitudes.

Less direct association tests than the Kent-Rosanoff or Woodrow-Lowell have also been employed effectively. Tests such as the Pressey Cross-Out can frequently be used for obtaining clues regarding problems and conflicts. In the Pressey test the subject is required, for example, to cross out words which are unpleasant to him or which he thinks are wrong. In one of the items of this test the individual is required to cross out words regarding which he has been worried previously. Thus it is possible to obtain attitudes which are related to conflicts without the individual's knowledge of the purpose of the examination.

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[12] G. H. Kent and A. J. Rosanoff, A study of association tests in insanity, American journal of insanity, 1910, 57, 37–96, 317–390.

[13] Herbert Woodrow and Frances Lowell, Children's association frequency tables, Psychological monographs, Princeton, Psychological Review Co., 1916, 22, pp. 110.

Such association tests as the Pressey are valuable because they do not involve the person who is being examined in self-evaluation and thus minimize the constraint that he would ordinarily have when talking about his attitudes. Difficulties arise, however, in the interpretation of the results. The nature of the conflict which causes one person to respond in a given way to an item in these tests may be different from that of another person who responds in a similar way. For example, two individuals may indicate that the words "fear" and "suspicion" in the Pressey test are unpleasant to them. One individual may react to these words in this way because he has conflicts of inferiority, and consequently may have developed a mechanism of evasion of scrutiny by others. The other person may have, say, sex conflicts which might have resulted in suspicious attitudes and fears related to a sense of guilt.

In spite of these and other difficulties a quantitative differentiation may be made on the basis of the frequency with which a person responds to given words. In this respect there has been a great deal of controversy among clinicians. Some clinical psychiatrists believe that the frequency of responses cannot be regarded as a criterion of the intensity of conflicts, whereas others believe that the more intense a given conflict the more frequently will the person respond to words or situations with which the conflicts are associated.

A number of other studies have been employed by psychologists in the attempt to arrive at some quantitative measure of attitudes. As an example, tests involving multiple choice answers are frequently used. The subject is presented with a problem which he is asked to solve in one of several ways. A series of situations such as the following is presented to the child or adult, and he is asked to check his answer.

> Your grocer has given you fifty cents more than is due you. Would you
>
> 1. Keep the money because he has already made enough profit from you?
> 2. Immediately return the money?
> 3. Wait until he discovers his mistake and then return the money?

It is possible to obtain some important clues to an individual's attitudes in answer to a long list of such multiple choice situations. It is important, however, that the person examined should not deliberate before he responds. His responses must be immediate and spontaneous. Otherwise he will choose answers which he regards as socially desirable.

Another method which has been employed for similar purposes is that of requiring the individual to give written answers concerning the solution of social or personal problems. In this way it may be possible to obtain the attitudes and conflicts of the individual through an evaluation of the solutions he proposes. The problems which are presented, especially to children, should involve other persons rather than the individual himself. Thus it may be possible to avoid the self-evaluative mechanism which frequently acts as an inhibitor of the real attitudes. The attitudes which are shown towards others may be assumed to be a reflection of the individual's attitudes towards himself.

Rating and ranking scales have been the most popular methods of the psychologist. Such scales are naturally more reliable than questionnaires which can only give clues for further investigation. The answers obtained in these scales can be quantitatively evaluated. Even such quantitative measurements may be misleading, however, because superficial opinions rather than attitudes are often obtained. This criticism has been answered by some psychologists with the statement that although opinions do not always reflect attitudes, they may still furnish valuable information about the personality of the individual.[14]

The following methods have been employed in self-rating scales.

1. The subject makes an absolute judgment of the presence or absence of given traits in himself.[15]

2. The subject checks the point on an arranged scale which he believes represents the degree in which a given trait is present in himself. Does he believe that he never has any fears, that he rarely shows fear, that he frequently shows fear, that he sometimes shows fear, or that he continually shows fear. A large number of such items are presented and the individual is required to check the point on the scale which reflects his personality.

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[14] See L. L. Thurstone, Attitudes can be measured, American journal of sociology, 1928, 33, 529–554.

[15] See Margaret F. Washburn and Vlosta Stepanova, Absolute judgment of character traits in self and in others, American journal of psychology, 1923, 34, 96–99.

3. In the use of paired adjectives, one desirable and the other undesirable, the subject checks the one which he believes applies to himself.[16]

4. In the man-to-man comparison method, the subject compares himself with the "scale" men previously selected by the examiner.

In each of these methods many errors are introduced. Absolute cooperation is essential, and this is difficult to obtain, especially with adolescents. Even those individuals who are perfectly cooperative may be intellectually dishonest and thus distort their responses.

Ranking scales are only infrequently employed by psychologists. In self-ranking the subject shifts any given number of words and phrases written on separate slips of paper into the order of merit he believes they represent. The items which these words or phrases represent are chosen in accordance with the kind of attitudes the examiner wishes to determine. The rankings which are made by the subject supposedly reflect his attitudes, that is, his potential responses to various values are indicated by the rankings made.

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[16] See, for example, E. B. Hurlock, A study of self-ratings by children, Journal of applied psychology, 1927, 11, 490–502.

CHAPTER III

CULTURE CONFLICTS

IN THE sociological and psychiatric literature a great deal has been published regarding the effect of the attempts of individuals to reorient themselves to social situations differing from those to which they had previously been accustomed. Various authors have pointed out the difficulties involved in the readjustment to situations with customs, attitudes and conventions differing from those to which the individual had been adjusted previously. Sociologists, especially W. I. Thomas, have long ago noticed the difficulties encountered by a person when he attempts to change his attitudes to fit those of a new environment. The difficulties encountered in the process of reorientation often give rise to mental conflicts which may further handicap him in his attempts at adjustment.

Many controversies have arisen between sociologists and psychiatrists regarding the origin of social maladjustments. Although sociologists do not overlook the psychiatric implications of social maladjustments they have, nevertheless, emphasized the effects of social backgrounds and social pressures as much more important factors than personal problems and conflicts. It is certain that personal problems and conflicts are tremendously influenced by social backgrounds and pressures. Nevertheless, it is also true that different individuals react differently to similar social conditions. Although many of the individual factors are not known at present, we may, perhaps, theorize that the personal problems may be influenced by social conditions but may have their origins in psychological factors only indirectly related to social backgrounds.

It is difficult to define a culture, especially from the standpoint of its psychiatric significance in the development of personality characteristics and the formation of conflicts. In general a "culture" has been defined in terms of the sentiments, practices, behavior patterns, social usages and collective habits which a given group has. An established group has given folkways and mores, sentiments, and habits. The practices and beliefs of a given group distinguish it from all other groups. Thus a gang, a religious group, or a professional group has a culture which distinguishes it from all other groups. Sociologists have pointed out that it is not the individual members of the group which define the culture, but the factors influencing their interrelationships. In other words, the culture of the group is not defined in terms only of the characters of its individual members.

Studies of the reactions of immigrants have shown striking examples of culture conflict. The immigrant usually settles within the geographical and cultural area of his fellow-nationals partly because he is thus able to continue with his old habits and attitudes. As soon as he removes himself from that group he comes in conflict with new attitudes and new customs to which he is neither fitted nor able to adjust. The immigrant often continues with his old habits and attitudes not because he is unwilling to readjust to a new environment but because his habits, having been fixated in early life, do not allow him to readjust easily to a new mode of living. Students of home economics, as an example, have pointed this out in many instances in studies of food preferences. Thus a typical example is the complaint of, say, an Italian housewife regarding her inability to buy sufficient milk for her children at 14¢ a quart. At the same time she sacrifices many necessities in order to buy imported cheese at $1.00 a pound.

Within the foreign settlement the person of the same nationality finds the security which he would be unable to find in any other situation. He is accepted fully as a member of the group. He meets very few new competitive problems and his segregation gives him a security that an individual in a much wider or larger group often lacks. Those who accept their segregation generally do not develop conflicts regarding their peculiar position in a new country. They follow their old food preferences, their ways of living (in so far as possible under new circumstances), their old interests, and their religious activities, without being clearly aware of the discrepancy between their behavior and the behavior of those outside of their immediate surroundings. It is only the individual who attempts to adjust himself to other groups and wishes to be accepted by people from other cultural areas, who is likely to develop conflicts.

READJUSTMENT TO A NEW CULTURE

An individual who attempts to readjust to a new cultural group but is rebuffed is likely to develop an attitude that he is not accepted on account of some personal inferiority. Thus a person who is not accepted into a new group because of the nature of his religious background often develops emotional tensions, resentments, and hates. He is unable to analyze the situation reasonably in terms of the inability of the members of the other group to be rid of their prejudices but instead tends to consider himself as inferior. His uneasiness and insecurity are further intensified by his loyalty to the old group and his inability to discard his old habits and attitudes.

Conflicts thus arise when the individual is unwilling to give up entirely his old cultural influences. He may accept most of the phases of the new culture but may be unable to accept fully one or another element. The resistance against giving up his early cultural influences in turn develops resistance in the other group, and this widens the gulf. Children and youths who are still under the domination of their parents, for example, are often unable to give up all of their old cultural characteristics, not because of a personal unwillingness or inability, but because they are forced to maintain them due to the authoritative influence of their parents. Parents are frequently disturbed because the interests of their children imply a rebellion against their training and they therefore forcibly attempt to maintain the old traditions and customs within the family group. This is especially true of immigrant parents who are frequently distressed by the attempts of their children to accept and adjust to American attitudes and ways.

In the case of a boy of seventeen, the conflict between the authority of his parents and his desire to adjust to his playmates showed itself most significantly in their objection to his recreational activities. His parents came from Bohemia when he was a child of two. They were serious-minded, hard-working people who believed that every child should contribute to the maintenance of the family. They also believed that American children were spending entirely too much time in foolish play. When the boy attended a public school they insisted that he come home within a half hour after school was dismissed. They kept him busy doing what they called useful work. The boy was resistant to this program and pointed out to them how all the other children played baseball or basketball and how they felt that it was strange that he did not take part in these games. The parents objected strenuously to the amount of time he spent on baseball, chiding him for such "childish" behavior. They also objected to his friends because of their supposedly frivolous interests. They considered sports and movies as a waste of time and often expressed their attitudes vigorously to his friends. In consequence of their attitudes, the boy was forced to break many friendships and he became unpopular with the neighborhood boys. When he entered a boarding school he stated that he was happy to be away from his family because they were "greenhorns" and he was ashamed of them.

At the boarding school he seemed eager to take part in all games and took pride in his skill. He was quite submissive to guidance and directions. He showed an unusual interest in the parents of his fellow-pupils, asking numerous questions regarding their vocations and their attitudes towards work and recreation. For some time he disliked to have his parents visit him and also refused to go home on visits.

Discrepancies between parents and children regarding given values are seen, of course, not only in the realm of recreation but also in many other phases of everyday activity. The problems of religious habits, for example, often play a significant role in the development of conflicts. Many parents, for example, are unable to understand the supposed disobedience of their children when they refuse to attend church regularly and prefer instead to use their time in recreational ways.

Children are likely to develop a sense of inferiority because their acceptance in outside groups often depends upon their renunciation of their old culture. Their conflicts are often intensified because they are ashamed of their parents, refusing in many instances, for example, to bring their playmates to their homes. But they are unwilling to renounce their parents entirely. In consequence they may also develop a sense of guilt regarding their parents. They cannot understand clearly the paradox of their identification with their parents and their uneasiness regarding them as equals to the parents of their friends. They are on the defensive toward slights regarding their parents and their background but at the same time complain to their family because they are different from their new friends and acquaintances. In consequence they are likely to be irritable at home and ingratiating to their friends. Unless they solve their problems and conflicts within a reasonable time they are likely to develop defense mechanisms against implied criticisms from the outside world. Thus they tend to become quarrelsome and argumentative, implying criticism of their status whenever any mention is made bordering upon a discussion of subjects regarding which they feel inferior.

In many cases the individual attempts to deny the existence of conditions regarding which he feels inferior, whether they be economic, social, or religious. For example, a person who had lived as a child in a section of the city regarded as inferior and had moved to another section, resists the information that he had at one time lived elsewhere. Many persons tend to exaggerate the importance of their families, and they conjure up many stories regarding the important background of their parents. The attempts to evade information regarding one's cultural background are very often made quite consciously. In many cases, however, even though denials are made on a conscious basis, conflicts are likely to arise because of the resulting sense of guilt.

The mechanisms of the culture conflicts illustrated in the immigrant child are seen quite as frequently in other individuals who attempt to change given cultural and social values. The frequency and intensity of the conflicts resulting from such attempted changes are perhaps not as great as in the immigrant child whose total pattern requires modification or complete change. In most cases an individual attempts to change his values in terms of a given social setting. For example, a person who has grown up under poor economic conditions is likely to develop conflicts when he attempts to identify himself with situations requiring a much higher economic status. He feels the loss of prestige because he is unable to orient himself to this higher level. In some instances the individual who is forced to reorient himself to a lower economic level develops similar conflicts because he feels the loss of the prestige and importance which are frequently obtained through economic superiority.

The necessity for reorientation because of environmental changes also often involves emotional upheaval because of the fundamental difficulties due to the inability to change entirely the basic attitudes and identifications which are generally fixated in early life. Thus, for example, a young man who leaves home to enter college is likely to develop many qualms regarding the new social attitudes that are forced upon him and the new modes of living to which he must adjust in order to be accepted into the new group. Even such a small problem as a change in food habits often involves a change in attitudes and this in turn may cause conflict.

In the case of the person who leaves home for the first time, a complete reorientation must often be made regarding social attitudes, religious opinions and practices, recreational activities, and so on. Individuals from a conservative religious and social background often undergo great hardships in their reorientation to a wider and more liberal social situation. Their previous identification with widely different attitudes and practices and their attempts to evolve new attitudes and responses place them in the curious position of admiration for the new order and at the same time antagonism toward their new friends. If they can renounce their old order without regret and without a sense of guilt, their readjustment involves few conflicts. If, on the other hand, their training under their old conditions has been rigid, or if they cling to their old culture as an identification for prestige, reorientation is possible only in association with intense personal conflicts.

A host of conditions may be mentioned in which conflicts arise because of the difficulties involved in the process of readjustment. Mention has already been made of economic and religious problems. In a young adult marital adjustment, for instance, often brings many difficulties because of a variety of conflicting habits and attitudes. In the young child every new social change, such as entrance into the elementary school or into high school, brings with it the necessity for a personal reorientation and hence a likelihood of conflict. For this reason educators insist upon as wide a training as possible early in life, especially training in independence of thought and action commensurate with the child's ability to comprehend such training.

In the following discussion an attempt will be made to evaluate the mechanisms of conflict formation as a result of a variety of attempts at orientation into different cultural groups.

THE MECHANISM OF CULTURAL READJUSTMENT

A NUMBER of questions arise in the interpretation of the reactions of the individual who develops conflicts due to the difficulties of readjustment from one culture to another. What is the mechanism of the transition from one culture group to another? How do these conflicts arise, and how are they resolved? As we have seen previously, the conflict mechanism is similar in any transition from a given group to another, whether it involves a race, a nation, a gang, a church, or a family.

As sociologists and psychologists have shown, the social definitions, the customs, collective habits, beliefs, aims, and sentiments of a given group mold the individual who is a member of the group, and pattern his behavior in accordance with its aims, beliefs, purposes, sentiments, practices, and social definitions.[1] The group of which the individual is a member thus defines his methods of satisfying his needs, his ambitions, and his recreation, and molds intimately his social responsibilities and his attitudes. The personality characteristics of the individual thus are influenced by the consequences of the relationships which the culture forces him to have with other members of the group. The social contacts with other members of the group tend to habituate the individual in his personality characteristics, and his interpretation of his role in the group defines his status for him.

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[1] R. E. Park, Education and its relation to the conflict and fusion of cultures, Publications of the American Sociological Society, 1918, 13, p. 40.

In the discussion in Chapter I, mention was made of the mechanisms by which personality characteristics are determined. It was shown that one of the functions of the development of personality characteristics is to attain and maintain a given status. As Park and Burgess [2] have shown, status is determined by the individual's interpretation of the role he plays in his relationships with the group.

The individual usually attains some status in every group of which he becomes a member. Membership in a small group in turn identifies the individual in terms of status to larger groups. Difficulties arise when an individual's conception of himself does not conform to his real status. Indeed, one of the most common bases for difficulties in adjustment is the inability of the individual to realign his concept of his status in one group to a different status in another group.

In observing children who entered a boarding school because of maladjustment in their homes, it was found that many difficulties arose as a result of their inability to accept their new status. The following behavior of a boy of ten is not an unusual example of the behavior of children whose difficulties arise from conflicts regarding status. In his own home he had maintained a dominance over his brothers and sisters. Although only ten years old he dominated his fourteen-year-old sister and twelve-year-old brother. His mother seemed to accept the boy's domination of the household. She reported that the boy became verbally abusive and destructive when he was thwarted in his domineering behavior.

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[2] R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, Introduction to the science of sociology, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1924, p. 55.

When the boy entered the boarding school, difficulties at first arose between him and the staff members because he refused to abide by ordinary routine and directions. He stated that he believed that the teachers were "picking on him," and it was difficult to make him understand that they were not singling him out for disciplinary action. In a very short time difficulties also arose because several boys thwarted his attempts to dominate them. He became argumentative and irritable whenever his leadership was not accepted. In games like checkers he frequently terminated play when he was convinced that he would lose. The other pupils soon refused to allow him into other games because of his constant attempts to draw attention to himself and to disrupt play when he was not doing well. Whenever he happened to be successful he constantly referred to his superiority over the other pupils. When the other children ignored him, he complained that they disliked him.

THE EFFECT OF ATTITUDES AND VALUES

WITHIN the cultural organization of any group definite attitudes and values are set up. One group may differ widely in its attitudes and in its values from other groups. Sometimes one finds, however, that one group assumes different values from another group for the same attitudes. Many of the difficulties of readjustment originate from the inability of an individual to discard the attitudes and values of the original group and to adopt new attitudes and new values of the group to which he attempts to become readjusted.

The attempt of parents, for example, to maintain given attitudes and values when a child attempts to adjust to a group with different values and attitudes often causes a good deal of maladjustment. The following is an illustration of such a difficulty in a child whose maladjustment was due to an inability to orient himself to the normal social practices of children of his own age.

A boy of five and one-half was referred for psychiatric study because of his inability to get along with other children and because his parents insisted that he begin his formal schooling earlier than the public schools would accept him. His father had taken him to several psychologists to call their attention to his brilliance in solving arithmetical problems. At the age of four he was able to add several sums which included three and four digits without the use of paper and pencil, and he was considered by some people as a mathematical genius. The father had had only an elementary school education. His own inadequate schooling probably increased his pride in his son's ability. He insisted upon intensive schooling for the child, claiming that he could easily graduate from the elementary school at the age of ten. The father's attitudes toward education were accepted by the child, and when he first entered school he refused to leave the classroom during recess periods because he wanted to study. In consequence he was unable to get along with the other children on a social basis and a number of them in turn developed defense reactions towards him. The child seemed to be fearful of other children, thought they were all "roughnecks," and showed great dependence upon adults. Despite his rapid progress in schoolwork (his I.Q. was 140) he believed that he was not doing well enough.

In this case we see the influence of given parental attitudes and values in the production of emotional problems and in the development of the conflicts of a child. The very attitudes and values which are considered as favorable and important had created a maladjustment because of their over-emphasis. The refusal of the other children to accept this emphasis on education and the child's inability to modify his attitudes and values in accordance with the requirements of his environment caused further difficulties.

On the other hand, the following case of a boy of fourteen illustrates the opposite types of attitudes and values which are as much out of keeping with accepted standards as in the preceding case.

This boy had been failing in school because of a slight intellectual retardation and because of a number of social and emotional difficulties. The father had often expressed himself as willing that he should go to work, but pressure had been brought upon him both by the boy and by his acquaintances to allow further schooling. The boy was interested in learning and had indicated by a variety of attitudes and reactions that he had a sense of inferiority because he was unable to keep up the same academic status as the other boys of his age and acquaintance. On several occasions the boy had complained about his father, stating that all he wanted him to do was to go to work and bring in money, whereas other boys of his age were allowed to go to school and were encouraged in developing social and recreational activities.

The difference between the father's and the boy's attitudes and values toward education and recreation, and the boy's inability to accept entirely one or the other set of values and attitudes created conflicts which resulted in a number of symptomatic manifestations such as tics, restlessness, anxiety panics, and other neurotic symptoms.

In many instances discrepant attitudes become attached to a given value, and conflicts may arise because of an inability to adjust the attitudes to those prevailing in the group to which the individual strives. Thus many individuals in the present order of society believe that education has a definite value, but are unable to accept the attitude that it is of paramount value. In consequence such individuals often become defensive against those having advanced formal education. Such is the case, for instance, when people attack universities and university faculties on the grounds that the very education which they value has made college people impractical. Part of this reaction is due, of course, to the fact that they have a sense of inferiority at not having attained the same educational status and as a result attack university men as a defense against their own supposed inferiority.

In passing from one group to another an individual is forced at times to assume different values. Unless he can change his values completely in given directions, conflicts are likely to arise. Thus the university freshman who comes from a pious family which believes that churchgoing has a definite value, comes into a great deal of conflict when he enters a large university with less conservative attitudes and with different values. He wishes to be accepted into the new group but is unable to eliminate given values which he has developed in his own home. In the same way children in school often develop cultural conflicts because of their inability to pass from one set of values to another. Some high school students, for example, place an important value on such behavior as drinking and smoking and staying out late, as signs of being grown up and sophisticated. Conflicts may arise because of the difficulty of deciding between these values and adherence to a different set of values, such as studiousness and obedience to the dictates of parents. Consequently the adolescent is likely to accept only given values of the new group and to adhere to other values defined by his home. Such a situation may also form the background for many conflicts, since the individual is in a state of emotional imbalance and is on the borderline between being fully accepted or rejected by the new group.

READJUSTMENT FROM PRIMARY TO SECONDARY GROUPS

Sociologists have pointed out that an individual who attempts to readjust from a "primary" to a "secondary" group often develops emotional problems because of his inability to reorient his values and attitudes. The primary group is a relatively simple type of organization in which the members are closely knit and in which attitudes and values have the same connotation for each member. Thus the family represents a typical primary group. The secondary group is a more formal organization in which a variety of attitudes and values exists and in which social control is not as fixed as in the primary group. As expressed by sociologists, in secondary groups the individuals are in contact with each other only at given points in their lives. Thus every person is at times relatively anonymous, that is, he is frequently known in regard to only one or two aspects of his life.[3]

Analogous to the problem of adults passing from a primary to a secondary group, such as migration from a small town family life to a large city, is the experience of a child who first begins to break away from the complete dependence on and control by his family. The situations in which the number of personalities to whom he must adjust and the number of conditions to which he must orient himself become progressively greater. As has been mentioned by a number of psychologists, the more protected the child has been in his home, the greater the number of conflicts he is likely to develop when he first begins to adjust himself to the school situation in which a variety of social and personal demands are made upon him.

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[3] R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, Introduction to the science of sociology, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1924, 25–26.

During adolescence, the individual's social horizon widens a great deal, and it is especially at this time that the individual becomes confused regarding his status and is likely to develop conflicts because his personal relationship to the variety of conditions which he meets has not as yet been established. The state of disequilibrium of which many psychologists have spoken as emotional disturbances natural to adolescents is partly, if not wholly, due to the adolescent's uncertainty regarding his social role and his personal security. Sociologists have pointed out long ago that the same type of confusion exists in immigrants who change from primary group relationships into the secondary groups of large cities where social control is less complete and well defined. Since an individual is probably always in a state of some disequilibrium with the group's sanctions and wishes, it is readily seen that the less defined and controlled the individual's behavior becomes, the greater may be his state of disequilibrium.[4]

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[4] W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, The Polish peasant in Europe and America, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927, 2 vols.

THE INTER-GROUP SITUATION

In passing from one group to another, culture conflicts arise when the individual is simultaneously and dualistically a member of two or more groups whose social definitions and values differ significantly. The individual thus finds himself in the "inter-group" situation. The simultaneous and dualistic membership may exist between large cultural groups such as national and racial groups, or in smaller groups, such as religious, scientific, family, or school groups. The attempt to adapt oneself to a new status in the new group and the simultaneous retention of attitudes and values which the new group does not sanction, or value, are the bases for the ensuing conflicts. In a given situation confusion results from the individual's inability to act in accordance with the dictates of the new group. He cannot behave in the manner sanctioned by his old group and yet cannot take over the ways of the new group without emotional tension. The adherence to contradictory attitudes and values does not always, however, produce conflict if the other members of the group have similar contradictory attitudes and values.

In the immigrant,[5] for example, the process of the formation of cultural conflict is clearly seen in his dualistic membership in conflicting national and social groups. The immigrant carries with him distinct marks of the culture of his old group, personality characteristics which have been in the process of formation and habituation over a long period of time. If he accepts the segregation into cultural groups (foreign settlements), cultural conflicts naturally do not arise. His attempts to readjust to the dominant group are likely, however, to be met with prejudice, ridicule, and ostracism until he completely sheds all signs of his early cultural influences and adopts, without question, the new and current habits and values. Not only do difficulties arise because of the old habits and values (which must be changed), but the prejudices which the individual meets also impede his reorientation.

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[5] In the discussion of the mechanism of the formation of culture conflicts, the information and examples given by sociologists have been drawn upon heavily. The discussion is not intended to be a duplication or summary of the excellent sociological literature upon culture conflicts, and the use of the examples of the immigrant is intended to be partly for purposes of showing conditions which are analogous to the conditions which form the basis of culture conflict in ordinary life.

To begin with, his first attempt to adopt the practices of the dominant group is likely to result in some loss of the status which he had previously had in his old group. This sometimes causes him to be hesitant in continuing his attempts at the new adjustment and at times causes him to retreat to the old group within a short time. Similarly the child who wishes to adjust himself to groups wider than his immediate family is often rebuffed, and because of the resulting conflicts regarding his new status returns to the protection (real or symbolic) of his immediate family.

In the school situation the transition from the family group to the larger groups is in most cases successful since it is made gradually. The child first attends a pre-school group, then a kindergarten group, and finally enters into the full activities of the school program. An analogous transition takes place in the usual immigrant orientation. The first group which he usually comes to has already adopted some of the values and practices of the dominant group and since the differences between the members of this settlement and the old culture are small, he is able to adapt himself rather easily. His greatest difficulties are likely to arise when he moves immediately into the dominant group without this transition period. The greater the prejudice of the dominant group towards the minority group, the more likely the resulting conflicts.

The clearest example of the results of prejudice is seen in the reactions of the children of immigrants or the children of minority racial, national, and religious groups whose attempts to become members of the dominant group are frustrated. Thus many children become emotionally upset at the necessity of denying the status of their parents to their playmates because of the fear of loss of their own status. This happens, of course, not only in regard to national, racial, and religious differences, but also in regard to many other conditions which imply status and prestige.

In the case of one boy of fourteen, his emotional problems revolved partly around his inability to take part in the social activities of his school acquaintances because of his conflict regarding his father's occupation. His father was a junk peddler and he had heard derisive statements made by his fellow-students about junk men and peddlers. In answer to questions regarding his father's occupation he had told his friends that he was a merchant with offices in a large building. He confided to the examining psychiatrist that he was in dread of others finding out the real occupation of his father. He had visited the homes of his friends but felt that he could no longer put off invitations to them to visit his own home. His father was not an immigrant but they lived near a foreign settlement, and this was an additional worry to him. He attended a school some distance from his home and at times lied about his place of residence. Although he was popular with the other pupils, he gradually broke friendships because he feared that his background would be discovered. His behavior in this respect was like that of the neurotic who fears close scrutiny by others who might discover his defects. In time this boy was regarded as somewhat eccentric because he refused to talk about himself or his family.

In discussing his problems he stated that he hated his parents because they were so backward. He wanted them to move to a different neighborhood and often broached the possibility of his father's change of occupation. His parents in turn recognized that he was ashamed of them, and they developed an antagonism towards him. They called attention to his defects, and reminded him of the opportunities they gave him to receive an education whereas his father was forced to begin work at an early age.

The greater the real or supposed antagonism (or prejudice) of the dominant group, the greater becomes the drive to enter that group. If the identificatory marks of the individual are irradicable, marks such as racial or religious, the greater the probability of his developing conflicts. These conflicts in turn increase his desire to be accepted into the new group. When the old cultural identifications are easily discarded, the individual's conflicts gradually disintegrate and his desire for full acceptance soon becomes dissipated. This is aided by the decrease of prejudice of the dominant group as he is accepted by them more and more fully.

THE MAINTENANCE OF STATUS

Any item which involves a conflict of culture may result in individual conflict. A child may develop conflicts regarding his status over the problem of his parents' social position or their financial condition or their language. In the observation of the behavior of high school students, conflicts were observed in a number of children because of their inability to attain status due to some real or imagined defect of their parents.

It is well known that adolescents are especially likely to be disturbed over their personal status. The problems of the adolescent often revolve about his attempt to identify himself with the important group in the high school. Given criteria are commonly accepted among adolescents as implying prestige. As an example, their parents' financial status often enables them to attain a status otherwise impossible of attainment. The child of poor parents thus often has difficulty in being accepted into given groups. One boy of fourteen stated, for example, that he was ashamed of his parents because they lived in a frame house whereas his friends lived in large brick houses or in expensive apartments. This boy's father was an attorney, and the family had an excellent reputation and an important social status.

This boy was the youngest of three children and had shown jealousy of his siblings because of the supposed favoritism shown them by his parents. When he entered high school he was timid and was unsuccessful in his attempts to make friends. He was small for his age and was unable to compete in athletic activities, nor was he able to attract attention in other ways. As a means of identifying himself with one of the dominant groups he informed a number of the other students that his father was wealthy. When some of the other students indicated that they would like to visit his home he always put them off with the statement that they were living only temporarily in their present home and that he would invite them as soon as they moved into a permanent house.

The boy's problems were complicated by conflicts arising from another source. Most of the children in the school he attended believed, as most adolescents do, that to be grown up meant behaving in "sophisticated" ways. Those who had a reputation for drinking and taking girls out, and for gambling, received a great deal of attention and prestige. The parents of this boy were very conservative regarding problems which had moral connotations. They never drank or played cards on Sunday nor allowed dancing on Sunday.

In a number of interviews the boy complained of the fact that his parents were old-fashioned and that not only could he not do what the other boys were allowed to do but he also was ashamed of the attitudes of his parents. He stated, for example, that he would be greatly embarrassed if the other boys found out his parents' attitudes and behavior regarding card playing or dancing.

The boy's difficulties in regard to his parents' attitudes were complicated by his relationship to an older brother. His brother was favored by the parents, and in turn defended their views. The cleavage between the sons increased the tension in the home. There were frequent quarrels and bickerings in the home. When it was suggested to the parents that they might liberalize their attitudes, they decided to allow the boy to play cards on Sundays. But they still insisted that his card play should involve no semblance of gambling.

In this case the conflicts of the boy were not intense because the difference between the status that he wished to attain and the status he had imagined he had was not very great. In other instances the difference may be very great, involving personal, physical, or cultural marks or signs which are not easily discarded. In such instances the individual who meets prejudices associated with the ordinary reactions of the dominant group may attempt to solve his conflict by a return of his allegiance to the group from which he came. Instead of attempting to hide knowledge of his original culture he extols the virtue of the group of which he was originally a member.

THE EFFECT OF PREJUDICE

In many high school groups (as well as in adult groups) the formation of cliques serves to maintain a cultural status. The Italian boy or girl often attempts to identify himself with the non-Italian group and makes an effort to hide, in one way or another, knowledge of his being Italian. In time he may find that although he may be accepted in the dominant group because of given abilities or because of social or financial superiority, he still meets prejudices because of his original background. In consequence he finally may begin to identify himself only with the other Italian children, extolling the virtues of his minority group and developing a defensive barrier to the non-Italian children.

Park and Miller have shown this mechanism in their studies of the process of identification with the dominant group, and a later return to the minority group.

> When, for example, the superior member of a foreign group compares his community with the larger American community, and particularly when he is humiliated in the latter because of his connection with the former, he may wish to repudiate his native group, try to lose the marks of identification with it, because he is ashamed of it. Thus, the cultured Italian may find it impossible to identify himself with a Sicilian group containing the *caffone* and black-hand elements, and may avoid the Italian group altogether. Similarly, the Jew may wish to lose his identity as a Jew because of the popular prejudice against his race. But this effort usually fails because the individual cannot completely lose the marks of identity with his native group ; he is betrayed by some

> sign — his speech or gestures, or sentiments. He consequently finds himself out of his old society without being completely in a new one and in a painful position — without recognition from any group whatever. We find, therefore, that the men who begin by deserting their groups end by attempting to improve the status of these groups — seeking to make them something with which a man may be proud to identify himself.[6]

When an individual is thwarted in his attempts at identification with the dominant cultural group, he may, on the contrary, ascribe his failures partly to the inferiorities of his group. He may select items of prejudice and ascribe the basis for this prejudice to the fact that certain types of his group are the cause of this prejudice. As an example, a cleavage has existed between the German and Russian Jews in this country. The German Jews were supposed to have a higher culture, and were more closely identified with the dominant groups than the Russian Jews who were identified by the community at large by their so-called immigrant traits. German Jews were therefore just as loath to identify themselves with the other Jewish groups as were non-Jewish groups. Within the Jewish groups in high school one frequently finds two or more groupings. Where a large number of both German and Russian Jews are found they often separate themselves according to their nativity. A similar separation is found in adult groups. It is well known, for example, that some fraternities made up of individuals of German origin will not accept individuals of Russian birth.

It is well known also that in some cases the fraternity boy belonging to the group of German origin will be bitter against the group of Russian origin, blaming them for the prejudice in the community. Those of Russian origin, at first envious of the status of the German group, attempt to emulate them in their behavior, and finally turn against them. They attempt to eradicate the supposed signs of their origin and culture and are careful not to accept into their group those whose origin is readily recognized.

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[6] R. E. Park and C. A. Miller, Old world traits transplanted, Chicago Society for Social Research, Chicago, 1925, pp. 308.

The problem of averting prejudice and discrimination and therefore of solving one's conflicts, is not easily solved by attempts at identification with the dominant group. The recognition of prejudice and the belief that one is singled out for criticism, even though one is willing to drop all the attitudes and values of the original cultural group, often leads the individual into the dual cultural position. The conflicts are intensified by an inability and unwillingness to revert to the original group and the frustration of entering without prejudice or discrimination into the dominant group. In some cases, however, as has already been mentioned, the individual not only reverts to the original group but also attempts to assume a leadership in the very group which he attempted to leave previously. By the assumption of leadership and the attempt to raise the status of the old group he thus attempts to solve his conflicts of inferiority by unconsciously trying to prove that the values of the old group are of much greater importance than those of the group to which he had aspired.

In the case of the individual who is not hampered by persistent physical, social, or circumstantial conditions, acceptance by the dominant group is easily attained. Because he meets no prejudice, since the dominant group does not single him out, he soon identifies himself with its values and attitudes and his original conflicts are soon solved.

Circumstantial conditions often tend to keep the individual in the marginal position even though he attempts to identify himself with a different culture. Mention was made of the high school boy whose father was a junk peddler and whose greatest concern regarding the attitudes of the group to which he wanted to belong was that they would discover his area of residence in the city and thus would single him out as belonging to a group of inferior status. In the same way an individual finds difficulties in moving from one religious culture into another. The attempt to discard the old attitudes and values is made difficult by the circumstances of living within the very situation which the individual wishes to leave in one respect and yet must retain in other respects.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN OLD AND NEW VALUES

THE intensity of the conflicts and their effect upon the development of neurotic symptoms as a result of the attempt to substitute new attitudes and values for old ones are illustrated in the case of the following young man of twenty-six. He had lived since birth in a rural area, and had left that region for the first time when he entered college. His parents were intensely religious. They attended church regularly and forced their children to accompany them. There was no card playing on Sundays or holidays, and dancing was considered immoral. The parents attended many religious revival meetings, and the patient remembered the emotional excitement in which he took part. He also attended a Bible school regularly, and his father read his lessons with him. His parents allowed him to play with only a few boys because they disapproved of the rowdy behavior of most of the other boys.

When the patient entered school he was known to the other children as a "sissy." They teased him by calling him "Bible Professor." At high school he made few friends, disliked athletics and entered into few social activities. When he entered college his adjustment improved. He found a satisfactory room-mate, and he took some interest in the school activities. He attended numerous lectures dealing with religious and social topics. He stated that during the first two years of college attendance his views towards religion and towards problems of morality changed. He played cards, attended numerous dances, and went to church only occasionally. But he could not free himself from a sense of guilt in taking part in activities which his parents had disapproved. During this period his greatest worry was concerned with his masturbation. His father had discovered that he masturbated when he was in high school and had punished him. He was also told that masturbation was a "short-cut" to insanity and Hell.

When the patient was graduated from college he returned to the village to which his parents had moved, and obtained a position as a teacher in the high school. He stated that his previous anxieties returned as soon as he moved back with his parents. His previous bashfulness with strangers and his anxieties returned with renewed vigor. He realized his ambivalent attitudes, that is, his attempts to free himself from the traditions of his parents and his inability to accept without emotion his desire to renounce his parents. In addition he was unable to find many friends in his community who agreed with his views, and he was especially cautious not to give others the impression that he disagreed with the views of his parents.

The following is one of the letters received from the patient after he was seen in psychiatric interview several times. It illustrates one of the conflicts which caused him anxiety.

> For some time I have been depressed with the thought of death. I cannot tell you the dread that seizes me at times. It is too terrible to describe. I am not so much afraid of the act of dying, but the thought that I am to be annihilated, my ego destroyed forever, nearly drives me mad. My reason tells me that death is just a long dreamless sleep without sorrow or pain, but my emotions rebel at the thought of it.
>
> I am argumentative. I want to attack every challenger and challenge against non-believers. Yet I dare not. When a preacher or my father pronounces anathema against skeptics, I can hardly keep from crying out against them. Their curses make me squirm inside and give me that sinking sensation that you have heard so much about. To this day, in spite of my materialism, I am afraid to say anything against the Holy Ghost because I'm afraid I will be tortured by my conscience for committing the unpardonable sin.
>
> In my youth I attended the United Brethren Church. Emotional revivals were in order. I have seen a preacher go into a trance. I have seen women run from one side of the church to the other until they fell exhausted in front of the rostrum. I have seen my grandmother dance up and down swinging her arms and shouting Glory ! Glory ! Glory ! I have heard my father shout and have seen my mother cry. All this I was told was the working of the Holy Spirit.
>
> Yet these actions always made me uncomfortable and afraid. I dreaded to have one of these possessed individuals with the fanatical light in his eyes talk to me.
>
> I know the Bible stories quite well. I am quite familiar with scriptural quotations. One that stands out is "These are they who came up out of great tribulation."
>
> I remember hearing my father say something like this : "The danger of Hell is so great, eternity is so long, that one should go through life wringing one's hands for fear of missing heaven."
>
> These things have left their impression.

This morning I conceived the thought of re-reading a book that I read in my childhood. Perhaps it might show what made me have this terrible feeling when a religious people were damning the infidels. I renovated my father's trunk and brought out his copy of "Dying Testimonies of the Saved and Unsaved" by S. B. Shaw.

Here are some of the chapter titles:

"The Awful Death of An Infidel Son."

"The Sad Death of a Lost Man."

"Last Hours on Earth of the Noted French Infidel, Voltaire."

"An Infidel's Last Words, Hell and Damnation."

"The Sad Death of an Infidel."

When religion ceases to hurt me, can I listen to those who advise me to pray and have a smile up my sleeve and words of gentle tolerance for those misguided souls who can believe because they want to believe?

Shall I cease going to church? Shall I tell others that I am an unbeliever? Or shall I quietly go about my business letting them think what they will and when they approach me tell them kindly that my religion is my own personal affair as I did last winter when my landlady invited me to join in family prayer?

What kind of a philosophy can a man have if he doesn't believe in God and Heaven? I call myself an agnostic. I don't deny the existence of God or Heaven, but I cannot find any satisfactory proof of it, and I know too much about psychology to "Hang on to the Lord until I get the assurance in my heart!"

Would it be better for me to get away from these puritanical and dreary religious ideas?

A young man who comes from a small pious town to a large university is likely to develop conflicts regarding many problems, as a result of his attempts to identify himself with the prevailing group and the prejudices he meets because of his old training. If he joins a fraternity, for example, his fundamental attitudes and values are immediately challenged. The definitions which were established for him, through his earlier training regarding such problems as liquor, gambling, sex, God, and so on, are now challenged by the dominant group whose attitudes toward these values are defined in quite a different way. He may attempt to behave in accordance with the attitudes of the prevailing group, but his loyalties to the previous attitudes and values make his condition precarious. It is like the individual who has a strong dislike for some new kind of food but is forced to eat it under given circumstances. Despite his desire to be nonchalant about the food to which he has an aversion, and his attempts to show the others that he actually likes the food, he is likely to become nauseated.

EMPHASIS OF NEW VALUES

The result of the conflict between old habits and attitudes and the requirements of a new situation often cause the individual to assume attitudes and values to such an extreme extent that he "outdoes" the new group. Thus the boy who has been trained to regard gambling as a serious vice may attempt to outdo his new associates in gambling.

The explanation of such extreme behavior whether in the realm of gambling, or sex, or drinking, has often been that the individual has been repressed and finally "breaks away." This explanation does not cover all instances, however. These individuals "break away" in many instances because of their desire to be accepted in the new group without hesitancy, and in their attempt to influence the attitudes and prejudices of the new group they go to extremes. In the case of boys of adolescent age who join a gang such "breaking away" is often found. Indeed, the boys whose cultural conflicts are the most serious are likely to become the leaders in trespassing the very social sanctions to which they adhered rigorously on previous occasions.

The attempt to gain status by outdoing the members of a new group is a familiar occurrence in many adult activities. The individual who has lived in a neighborhood of a poor social and economic level and who moves into a neighborhood of higher "class" is likely to outdo his new neighbors in the type of car he drives, or in the furnishings of his home. Plush chairs and gilt-edged china are not uncommonly found in the homes of families attempting to break away from an area of poor economic status to an area with a reputedly high status. So too the "nouveau riche" often becomes a focus of attention because of his attempts to be an unusual spendthrift. His behavior is often awkward because his attempts to imitate the members of his new group shows a lack of grace through which he is usually singled out.

THE PROBLEM OF TRANSITION

THE most difficult time is that period during which the individual makes a transition from one situation to another. As we have seen previously, however, conflicts may arise even after the preliminary transition period, because the individual is unable to discard all his old habits and attitudes which clash with the new and also because some minor trait or attitude may be singled out by the new group and be reacted to with prejudice. When the transition stage involves passing from one circumscribed group to one no more complex, the problems encountered are usually not insurmountable. When the new group is large and complex, however, the transition is likely to be difficult. It is usually much easier, for example, for a country boy to readjust himself to another rural group than for a person who has lived in a rural situation for a long time to readjust himself in a large town. Although many problems arise in each of these readjustments, the number of situations in a rural environment to which orientations must be made is much smaller than those of the urban environment, no matter how easily the individual accepts new surroundings. Dawson and Gettys state, for example,

> . . . The individual or family that moves from the rural village or small town to the large city is faced with the business of making an entree into a strange and novel situation. So, too, is the freshman entering college, the child, making his debut into the play group of the neighborhood or school, and the employee making his way into the good graces of his employers and his fellows. The old familiar relationship and the social order founded on them no longer function. The new situation is bewildering and emotionally disorganizing. It leaves one with a sense of detachment. And yet, it tends to possess and dominate one. Whereas before, one tended to act in accordance with the patterns set and controls imposed by the small local group, now one finds it difficult to act intelligently outside the confines of his transplanted colony.[7]

Difficulties are involved, as has been implied previously, in a transition from a local group to a large group, due to the number of conditions to which the individual is exposed and to the different levels of orientation which he must attain. The young child first entering school, the youth leaving his home to enter a large university, the boy who goes to another city to obtain a job, and the adolescent who attempts to find status in groups different from those to which he had been confined previously, illustrate the mechanism of cultural expansion which necessitates many orientations. In these processes of orientation and reorientation the individual often develops conflicts because of his inability to understand and therefore to accept fully values and standards to which either he has not been exposed previously or to which he has reacted with antagonism.

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[7] C. A. Dawson and W. E. Gettys, An introduction to sociology, New York, The Ronald Press, 1929, p. 528.

ATTITUDES OF THE DOMINANT CULTURAL GROUP

In the attempt to accommodate oneself to a new social or cultural level, the individual often singles out a value through which he attempts to gain entrance into the new group. Thus the educated negro at first attains a given status in the white group or in the cosmopolitan center because of his education. Such a person is at first in a fortunate position because he can take part both in the negro group and in the white group without very much conflict. As he attains more status, however, he meets more prejudice from the white group who begin to judge him not in terms of his education but in terms of the fact that he is a negro. The prejudice which such an individual meets may take various forms, such as terrorism, ridicule, scorn, and subtle legal, social, political and economic distinctions and discriminations. The dominant cultural group reacts to the educated negro not as to an individual but classifies him as merely a member of the minority group. In the terminology of the sociologists, ethnocentrism is an essential factor in the creation of cultural conflict in the individual aspiring to a new status in a new group.

As sociologists have shown, ethnocentrism is a common reaction of most people who consider their group as the center of everything. Every other person is thus rated according to his own group. Each group boasts about its superiority, develops exaggerated pride in its supposed virtues, and tends to under-value the characteristics of other groups. The members of a given group in their attempts to maintain their own superiority apply derogatory names to members of other groups. "Dago," "Polack," "Wop," "Hick," and similar names given to members of other groups imply their inferiority and the contempt of the person using these names.

Psychologically the mechanism of ethnocentrism tends to raise the level of one group through the prejudicial reaction to another group. This of course occurs both in the dominant and the minority groups, but the dominant group is able to carry out its attitudes into action when action is necessary. The individual of one group, whether cultural or racial or religious, aspiring to a new orientation, not only meets the prejudice due to the persistency of given traits or attitudes, but also due to the fact that the dominant group deals with the individual as if he were still a member of the other group. To many, if not most Americans, all Frenchmen or Spaniards or Italians are alike and the actions of individuals are classified as of the particular group.

The common caricatures of given national groups and the theatrical representations of these individuals illustrate these mechanisms. The Italian is often caricatured as a peddler or as a person with a given enunciation and language defect ; the Jew, as a person with a beard, with broken English and often as the owner of a pawn shop ; the Englishman, as a haughty person using ununderstandable English and wearing a monocle, and so on. It is not extraordinary, therefore, that the adolescent or adult attempting to gain a new status in a new group becomes ashamed of his old affiliations and origins and tends to develop conflicts because some trait or characteristic or value is likely to expose him to the scrutiny of the dominant group.

In a number of adolescent individuals who have come under psychiatric obervation, conflict was observed, in part because they were constantly on the alert lest the dominant group recognize their origins through some subtle way of identifying some habit or trait which they might not be able to hide. It is because of this that many adolescents refuse to allow outsiders to know their brothers or sisters or parents. They are on the alert for criticism and become self-conscious about many habits and reactions which are not at all related to their identification with the minority group.

Self-consciousness about one's characteristics and sensitivity to criticism are reactions which are frequently seen when an individual feels inferior in other ways also. In the chapter on Inferiority and Insecurity, it will be seen that sensitivity to criticism is one of the difficulties with which many teachers and parents have to deal. "Sensitive" individuals imagine that they are being criticized and are thus likely to withdraw from active social contacts and to develop friendships with individuals whom they consider as inferior. An example of this type of reaction is the choice of friends of many intelligent adolescents and youths. Those who have a sense of inferiority regarding some cultural problem or some personal defect may choose as friends individuals who are intellectually inferior. They thus avoid competition with those who are considered as their equal and at the same time obtain attention because their friends are proud of association with supposedly superior persons.

Mention has already been made of a variety of difficulties encountered by an individual who attempts to adopt the cultural practices of another group. Psychologically it is not at all clear why some individuals find it relatively easy to change their attitudes and practices, whereas others with the same background find difficulty in reorienting themselves. There is no doubt, however, that individuals with conflicts of inferiority and insecurity relating to some real or imagined personal defect find the greatest difficulty in reorienting themselves to new cultural situations. The process of transfer from one culture to another often intensifies their attitudes of insecurity and inferiority and thus makes them even more sensitive to the attitudes and prejudices of the dominant group.

THE EFFECT OF CRISES

In many cases cultural conflicts arise rather suddenly as the result of a crisis experience. This is often seen in individuals who belong to a minority racial group and who are accepted in the dominant group under ordinary circumstances but suddenly find that they are definitely rejected under other circumstances. A high-school boy, for example, who belongs to a minority racial group may adjust well to his fellow-students in the usual school activities, but suddenly recognizes that the other pupils have been invited to become members of a fraternity while he has not been approached.

In one instance, a fifteen-year-old girl complained that she was not happy in attending the private school to which her mother had sent her in the hopes of developing her "social life." The girl stated that she had no particular difficulties with the other students. She had many acquaintances and friends. It suddenly dawned on her, she stated, that though her fellow-students, both boys and girls, accepted her under ordinary school conditions, they rejected her when questions of intimate friendship arose. As an example, one of her supposedly best friends had given a party but had not invited her. Later she discovered that several of the girl students had discussed her and decided not to invite her because she belonged to a different racial group. They had decided that she was a very nice girl and "very intelligent and unusual for her race," but did not feel that they could invite her to their homes.

In the case of this girl, there was little indication of a culture conflict until she was suddenly confronted with a form of prejudice which she did not suspect. She was of Polish descent, her parents having emigrated to this country when she was four years old. She considered herself an American, and was only vaguely aware of the ordinary prejudices against immigrants, especially against given national groups. Consequently she did not attempt to hide from others information regarding her parents. Her attitudes in this regard changed, however, after her experience of being rejected by her fellow-students. She became uncommunicative in matters pertaining to her family. She refused to resume friendships with the pupils whom she considered as bearing prejudice against her, and gradually restricted her social activities at the school.

Crises experiences (or traumas) are likely to lead to much more intense cultural conflicts than when an individual gradually becomes aware of the prejudices and attitudes between members of different cultures. In the cases of individuals who are suddenly confronted with barriers, a sense of confusion develops. The individual has a feeling of being lost. He is emotionally overwhelmed and is confronted with doubts and insecurity regarding the direction of adjustment that he should take. He is unwilling to return to his old cultural affiliations and his vanity and pride do not allow him to give up his quest for affiliation with the dominant group.

In some cases the culture conflict results in behavior which is seen in many neurotic conditions. The individual retreats socially and becomes sensitive to criticism unrelated to his real problems. His sensitivity about the elements which produced the conflict often continues even after the immediate problems are solved. Just as the individual who has a physical defect may be sensitive to allusions to his condition, and often imagines that others are referring to him derisively, so the individual with a particular culture conflict is ever on the alert for references to the conditions which have acted against him. The individual may become sensitive about his accent, his dialect, his features, his food preferences or his clothes.

As a reaction to a sense of insecurity which usually defines itself in a concern over status, the individual is likely to compensate by the development of given characteristics or interests as a means of overcoming the real or supposed inferiority. Thus the student turns to his studies with added intensity and often becomes superior to the others who have been prejudiced against him because of his inferior status. The result of course is the widening of the gulf between himself and the members of the dominant group. His attempts to compensate for his inferiority lead in many cases only to a still wider breach.

As intimated previously, the individual who is rejected but who cannot return to his old group, often develops contradictory and shifting opinions and attitudes. This is true of individual conflicts also. The person, for example, who has a sex conflict at times rejects the view of society as being antagonistic to his own welfare. Almost immediately, however, he may change his attitude and reject sex as something undesirable. This conflicting and varying attitude is often seen in voung people who are ashamed of their parentage but at the same time are antagonistic to any implication of their inferiority.

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS AND MENTAL ABNORMALITIES

The social backgrounds of an individual, it has been shown, are of great importance in the development of conflicts. Conflicts develop most frequently, as has already been stated, when an individual attempts to adjust himself to social and cultural conditions different from those to which he had been accustomed previously, but at the same time is unable to relinquish entirely his old habits and attitudes. Thus, asocial, antisocial, and some forms of neurotic behavior may arise from conflicts due to difficulties of social orientation and reorientation. Whether a causal relationship exists between social and cultural backgrounds and the symptoms of mental abnormalities is a problem which a number of investigators are attempting to solve.

Every psychiatrist recognizes the importance of the social background of the mentally abnormal patient. Before a program of therapy is formulated, a detailed history is usually obtained of the patient's previous experiences. Such factors as race, education, nationality, religion and occupation are analyzed, together with the individual's early social training, his previous desires and ambitions, and incidents which involved discrepancies between the requirements of his cultural backgrounds and his desires. In one way or another the psychiatrist attempts to relate the previous experiences to the possible conflicts which may be factors in the development of the abnormal symptoms.

In a recent publication [8] the preliminary results of an investigation were reported which indicated that a relationship exists between the symptoms of the "functional" insanities and the social and cultural backgrounds of the patients. In this investigation the records of approximately five hundred adult white and four hundred adult negro patients were analyzed. The following are examples of the findings.

Men have more frequent delusions of grandeur than women. From the standpoint of our cultural backgrounds this might be expected because the social contacts of men are generally more numerous than those of women and their problems are more closely related to their personal security. Men are therefore more likely to attempt to make up for their failures than women by compensating in terms of ideas of their superiority. Religious delusions were found to be much more frequent in white women than in white men. Although the frequency of these delusions in negro women also exceeded the frequency in negro men, the excess of the negro women was very much smaller than that of white women. In general women are occupied with religious activities more than men and it is therefore likely that they might turn to religion more quickly in compensation for difficulties and disappointments. Men, having greater economic, vocational, and professional responsibilities, are probably more likely to turn to delusions in those directions than in the direction of religion. Negro women are much nearer to the position of negro men in their social, vocational, and economic activities than is found in the relationships between white women and white men. The relative social similarity of negro women and negro men as compared to the whites may therefore be one of the factors in the similarity of the delusions in the mental abnormalities of negro patients.

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[8] Mandel Sherman and Irene Sherman, Psychotic symptoms and social backgrounds, in Madison Bentley and E. V. Cowdry, editors, The problem of mental disorder, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934, chapter 18.

Another interesting indication of the influence of social backgrounds upon mental symptoms was the relative frequencies of grandiose delusions regarding great wealth in American and foreign-born patients. The frequency of grandiose delusions of wealth was much greater in American born and raised patients than in the foreign-born who exceeded the American patients in delusions pertaining to literary and artistic pursuits.

Somatic delusions were found to be much more frequent in white women than in white men. It is possible that the man's involvement in outside activities and his dependence for success upon his relationship to others cause him to develop symptoms different from those of the woman. The woman, on the other hand, lacking "worldly responsibilities," is much more likely to "turn into herself" and therefore more likely to develop somatic symptoms.

Ecological studies have shown differences in the frequencies of various types of insanities in different social areas. Sufficient studies of this kind have not been made as yet, however, to warrant definite statements regarding the significance of social backgrounds. Some of the evidence shows, for example, that areas of social disorganization have a high rate of insanity as well as high rates of juvenile delinquency, illegitimacy, and so on. Some factors of the environment evidently influence the development of socially disorganized behavior.

CHAPTER IV

CONFLICTS OF INFERIORITY AND INSECURITY

IN RECENT years a great deal of emphasis has been placed upon the importance of conflicts of inferiority and insecurity in influencing behavior. Indeed, attempts have been made to explain given personality patterns (of both normal and abnormal individuals) in terms of their origin from such conflicts. Thus, Alfred Adler first systematically showed that many desirable and undesirable personality patterns arise from feelings of inferiority which may or may not have a factual basis. The mechanism which an individual unconsciously adopts to solve these conflicts determines many characteristics which play an important role in the patterning of his personality. It should not be inferred, however, that an individual develops only one type of mechanism in order to adjust to his conflicts of inferiority or insecurity. He may adopt several methods or mechanisms. In general, however, a given mechanism plays the predominant role in the characteristic reactions of the individual. An individual may show predominantly the mechanism of compensatory behavior and he may at the same time utilize defenses and escapes but only in subservient roles to the predominant mechanism.

THE PROBLEM OF MAINTAINING STATUS

As was mentioned in Chapter I, every individual attempts to maintain his status and integrity. The young child who has difficulty in maintaining his status is likely to develop conflicts of insecurity and inferiority because he compares himself unfavorably with others. If he is one of several siblings (and therefore must compete with them) he may compare himself unfavorably with his brothers and sisters in regard to his parents' attitudes or in regard to physical or other phases of his development. Still further competition is met when he begins to seek social relationships outside of the home. Because he is relatively unprotected in his relationships with strangers, he is even more likely to compare himself unfavorably with others. Conflicts of insecurity and inferiority arise because he believes himself in jeopardy of being relegated to an inferior position. He is likely to exaggerate some lack in himself and to believe that society as represented by his parents and friends will judge him not by his abilities but by his lacks and failures.

Status and security are frequently attained by the young child by identifying himself with his parents. The young child generally exploits and exaggerates the importance of his parents and thus attains an important status for himself. Older children may attain status by impressing others with their possessions, or by various accomplishments. The older the individual the more opportunities he has to develop a variety of ways to attain status but at the same time he finds it more difficult because competition becomes more intense and because he is forced more and more to depend upon his own resources.

Beginning with adolescence, security is frequently attained by "belonging" to a given group. If a person can become an integral and essential member of a group which has a definite status for its members and which is recognized by others outside of his group, he may believe that he too has attained a definite status and thus a given security. The particular group to which he may belong, and which he believes is looked upon with favor in the community, may be the family, a literary group, a professional or political organization, and so on. Individuals who cannot affiliate themselves with a dominant group may develop a sense of insecurity because of their isolation. Even though such individuals rationalize their failure to belong to given groups, they frequently have a sense of inferiority because they exaggerate the values of the activities of others.

The wide variety of contradictory attitudes and ideals with which an individual comes into contact frequently makes it extremely difficult to choose a means of attaining a given status. The greater the difficulty encountered in attaining status, the more likely is the individual to believe that this failure is due to some personal inferiority or defect, and therefore the more likely the development of conflicts of inferiority and insecurity.

The variety of conditions to which children, and especially adults, must adjust, and the uncertainty regarding the standards, practices and beliefs with which they must contend are often the precipitating factors in the development of conflicts of insecurity. As McDougall states,[1] "The child finds himself surrounded by odds and ends of moral and religious systems, Christian piety and pagan hedonism, Fundamentalism and Modernism, Christian Science and Mechanistic Neo-Darwinism, monogamy and polygamy, free love and birth-control, the popular misrepresentations of Freud's teachings, and the cult of self-expression and the Overman : winds of doctrine come to him from Emerson and Walt Whitman, Buddha and Confucius, Bernard Shaw and Omar Khayyam. Even such old anchors as patriotism begin to drag, as he is taught that love of country is an irrational prejudice, a pernicious obstacle to universal justice and to the cosmopolitan ideal. And, if he seeks to choose an ideal goal of service to which he may dedicate his life, which way shall he turn ? He hears that religion is no longer intellectually respectable, nationalism is wicked, politics villainous, business corrupt, education futile, and science subversive of man's higher hopes."

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[1] William McDougall, Outline of abnormal psychology, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1926, 216–217.

THE ATTAINMENT OF SECURITY

THE child is consistently and cumulatively conditioned to find security in his parents. The long period of breast feeding followed by solicitous and minute care by the mother of his comforts and needs conditions him to turn to his parents for protection and shelter from immediate and anticipated discomforts and dangers. His world is no wider than the influence of his parents and he naturally looks upon them as the final authority in all matters. Later on, however, as his social horizon widens and as he is forced to accept the beliefs and opinions of persons who differ from his parents, conflicts are likely to arise. Even when he recognizes that others differ from his parents and he accepts these differences, he is usually forced to break with the traditions which had been forced upon him in early childhood. His acceptance of new attitudes and beliefs involves not only a break with early traditions but also symbolically implies renunciation of his parents. Thus many individuals develop conflicts of insecurity when they clash with the traditions of their parents because now the security which they found in them is removed. This is especially significant since the memories of early childhood are concerned in part with the association of parents with customs, attitudes and traditions and not only with specific incidents and experiences.

Conflicts of insecurity arise when the child first begins to understand the meaning of personal and social relationships, and the competitive nature of these relationships, when he recognizes the necessity for some form of achievement and when he begins to compare his attainments with those of others. The conflicts arise in part because the child's security is threatened. The desire to attain security through achievement is not easily effected in young children because of circumstantial restrictions. As we shall see later, adults may attain security through achievement, real or imagined, in their trades or vocations or through indentificatory expression in social and professional groups.

The attainment of security depends in many cases upon the prestige which the individual attains, and this accounts in part for the variety of means utilized, and for the fact that a feeling of security is often dependent upon the ability to exceed the standards of the community. In studies of given socially and economically backward communities it has been shown [2] that the average individual attains relative security when he saves between thirty to forty dollars a year. This achievement means not only relative security but also superiority to others. In large urban centers, the situation differs considerably, but even there the amount of money necessary for a feeling of economic security depends upon the standards of the group to which the individual belongs or of which he wishes to become a member.

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[2] M. Sherman and T. Henry, Hollow folk, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1933, pp. 217.

A feeling of security may be obtained in many other ways also, but again only as the individual compares himself favorably with the most successful of his group or community. No individual is entirely satisfied when he does not excel at least a large number of his fellow-men in the aptitude or value upon which he has fixated. The attempt to attain superiority as a method of obtaining security often results in a constant conflict relating to one's position in the particular group in which the individual finds himself. The kind of status to which one aspires naturally depends upon the character of the group or community. In some groups, for example, one may attain prestige by having a grade-school education. In other groups even a graduate degree from a university is insufficient as a criterion of superiority.

The kind of superiority one wishes to attain depends, as was already intimated, upon the age, the environment, the opportunities, and the intelligence of the individual. A young child may obtain a feeling of security and superiority by owning a particularly novel or expensive toy. The adolescent may attain security relatively easily by exploiting a particular hobby, such as the collection of stamps, or the development of a given skill. The adult, however, is confronted by a much more difficult problem. The competition is keen and his responsibilities are many. His mature judgment and the attitudes of others preclude the attainment of superiority in the simple ways which are effective for children. Because of the variety of conflicting attitudes he is often at a loss for a method of obtaining security. Sometimes he can obtain security through the prestige derived from becoming a convert to an unusual political or religious doctrine. At times an adult is able to obtain prestige by developing unusual mannerisms, or interests, or mode of living. But the avenues for prestige are neither as easily chosen nor as productive of results as they had formerly been during childhood. Consequently the adult is much more likely to suffer from feelings of inferiority which involve a sense of personal failure.

In a large number of instances the more intelligent the person the more acute are his conflicts of inferiority. The intelligent person is at a disadvantage because he cannot exploit himself in the simple ways that the less intelligent usually chooses. The intelligent person, for example, cannot always use his ability in ordinary games of skill as a mode of attaining superiority. Nor can he accomplish his purpose by merely identifying himself with presumably important social activities, such as memberships in clubs and societies. He is concerned with productive accomplishments, and these are not easily attained. His intelligence also makes him more sensitive to actual or imagined inferiorities, since he is not easily persuaded in the belief of superiority through incidental and superficial affiliations and activities.

It is not difficult to understand how some adults are likely to develop neurotic symptoms when their conflicts of inferiority become intense and overwhelming. Some adults tend to blame themselves for their lack of accomplishment, whereas young children and adolescents are more likely to blame circumstances or other people.

This does not mean, of course, that a large number of adults do not justify themselves by blaming others. On the contrary there are many such adults, particularly individuals who never quite see their own role in their supposed failures to attain great heights.

OVERPROTECTION AND INFERIORITY

Conflicts of inferiority often have their origin in an overprotective home situation. Many parents protect their children to such an extent that they are unable to adjust adequately to social situations outside of the home. Such parents watch their children carefully, are oversolicitous in their affectional care, and inculcate attitudes of anxiety through meticulous guardianship of their health. In consequence these children may mature as somewhat helpless individuals, dependent upon others and unable to meet ordinary competitive conditions resolutely.

The following behavior of a twenty-five-year-old man illustrates the possible relationship between overprotection during childhood and inability to face competitive conditions later on. As a child he was very close to both his mother and father. His mother, however, took the responsibility for him, and spent a great deal of time attending to his wants. She rarely allowed him out of her sight and attempted to control all his activities. She chose his friends, and advised him regarding his social activities. She watched his diet and health very closely, regulated his sleep, and rarely allowed him to play actively with boys for fear that he might be injured.

During adolescence he first became actively aware of his inability to compete with others of his own age. He was unable to take part in athletics, partly because he had never had any experience and partly because he was fearful that he would display poor ability. Although he did excellent schoolwork and was considered one of the brightest in the school, this accomplishment was not sufficient to make him feel secure with the others. He realized that persons of his age were not as ready to give recognition to those excelling in academic work as to those who were leaders in athletics or in social activities.

At college he made few friends and was homesick. He rarely made voluntary remarks in his classes and had a good deal of anguish when called upon to speak. His anxieties always increased prior to examinations, for he believed that he might fail at any time.

When he was graduated from college he went into business with his father. He was successful doing detailed work but was unable to meet people easily and therefore was allowed to do only office work. As time went on he began to have a great deal of anxiety about himself and developed a number of fears. Early childhood difficulties now came to the foreground, such as fear of thunderstorms, fear of being left alone, and fear of going to new places. In addition, anxieties about his bodily condition developed. He was annoyed by occasional headaches during his adolescence, but they now occurred frequently. Consequently he was forced to curtail his social functions. He also regarded his supposedly poor physical condition as a good reason for living with his parents. He became more and more concerned with his physical condition and made innumerable visits to physicians. He regarded himself as a partial invalid and considered this as the reason for his failure in the business world. His affectional attachment to his mother, disrupted somewhat when he was attending college, now increased. The childhood relationship was reestablished, with mother and son in each other's company on every pretext, and with mother employing the same protectorship over her son that existed when he was a child.

The neurotic symptoms of physical illness undoubtedly developed as a symbolic escape to the protection of his mother as a defense against realities to which he could not adjust. He was now sheltered from his inferiorities and no longer was it necessary to be concerned with everyday problems of business success, of meeting and competing with other individuals, or of exposing himself to the scrutiny and criticisms of his fellow-men.

This man's early childhood difficulties, such as fears of storms, of being left alone, and so on, returned in part probably because of his return to an infantile relationship to his home and family. The parents, and especially the mother, were an active factor in reestablishing his childhood behavior because of the excessive interest in his welfare, and their oversolicitousness regarding his physical condition. It is most probable, of course, that he had never solved his early problems, and their return was facilitated by a lessening of his attempts at their control. A "return to type," as it is popularly stated, is seen in many individuals, both children and adults, when earlier environmental conditions are reestablished.

SEX MALADJUSTMENT AND INSECURITY

A PATTERN of insecurity may develop out of sex frustration. An individual unable to make a satisfactory sex adjustment may find difficulty in making friends and in adapting himself to the everyday attitudes of his social and business acquaintances. As we shall see in the discussion in Chapter V, proper sex adjustment is considered a sign of good personal adjustment. The attitude of derision towards the spinster is a good example of popular reaction. The young man who is unable to make friends with women is often looked upon as an inadequate person and is suspected of having some defect. Furthermore, as a result of many social pressures, the young adult who is unable to establish sex relationships is likely to consider himself inferior.

The following brief account of a patient illustrates the effect of one type of sex conflict upon attitudes and behavior as related to social adjustment. The patient was a young man of twenty-nine who sought psychiatric help because he felt that he was not making a success of his life. He stated that he never had had a feeling of security, that is, a feeling of "belongingness" either in his job or in his social activities. He was a graduate of a large university but now worked at a job which was routine and had little to do with his previous training. He made few friends, either men or women. Of the few friends he did have, the men seemed to him to be the most intelligent and the most worthwhile. In social groups he was an onlooker and rarely "warmed up" to a social situation unless he happened to be interested in a particular person, usually a man.

The patient was reared in a home which was strict in its religious and moral atmosphere. Although his parents never "lectured" him on morality or religion, he always believed that they would disapprove of the slightest deviation in his behavior.

The only other sibling was a brother seven years older than he. He admired him greatly and identified with him so thoroughly that he considered him as an ideal person. He was affectionately attached to his mother but she did not pay much attention to him, and he occupied himself mostly with his brother, discussing his problems with him as frequently as he could, and trying to emulate him. His brother was handsome and well poised, and he always derived a great deal of satisfaction from observing his behavior and thinking that he, too, would be like his brother some day.

As an adolescent the patient had few friends and was not popular. Although he admired the athletes in high school, he did not take part in athletics, partly because he felt inferior to the task and partly because he was embarrassed by onlookers and therefore made excuses in order to avoid even ordinary gymnasium work.

When he was seventeen, his brother married. For a short time he felt "lost." He was jealous of his brother's wife and picked arguments with her on many occasions. When his brother obtained a traveling salesman's job, his attitude towards his sister-in-law changed. He began to be fond of her and thought on many occasions that he, too, would marry someone like her.

During several years following his graduation from the university he made a good adjustment. Gradually, however, he began having periods of depression. He stated that he never felt as if he "belonged" to any group. Whereas his friends had many women acquaintances, he had no women friends. He was bashful with women, and frequently wondered at their boldness and the freedom with which they reacted to men. Whenever he had an opportunity to develop a close friendship with a woman he found many faults with her. One girl seemed to him to be unintelligent, another crude in her manners, a third came from an inferior family, and so on. He claimed that he desired sex relations but never found the proper person, except on one occasion. In that case, he became acquainted with a married woman some ten years older than he. She had made the advances, and on the first attempt at sex relations he found himself impotent. Thereafter they established a satisfactory relationship which lasted for three months. When this woman left town he felt relieved, partly because he had many compunctions regarding the propriety of his behavior. He justified his behavior, however, by the knowledge that she had had many previous experiences and by her assurance that she took full responsibility for her behavior.

The patient was concerned because he masturbated. He believed that it was unnatural that a man of his age could not obtain sexual satisfaction in any other way. He believed also that the masturbation must have some deleterious effect upon his physical and mental condition. He realized that authorities claim that masturbation is of no consequence but stated that he could not avoid his emotional reactions.

In addition to the anxiety regarding his sex problems, the patient was also concerned about the attitudes of his acquaintances regarding his failure to make friends with women. He believed that this failure revealed his inferiority to his friends, and in addition caused them to regard him as less "manly" than the normal man. Thus, his insecurities were intensified. He stated that on many occasions he consciously and purposely attempted to become friendly with a girl, but never reached a relationship beyond friendly acquaintance.

As we shall see in the discussion of sex problems, many individuals, especially men, are concerned about their sex "virility." Thus, when they are unable to assert themselves sexually they are likely to consider their failure in terms of a personal inferiority. They also consider their prestige jeopardized, and are concerned lest their acquaintances discover their sex inadequacies.

INFERIORITY AND DEFENSE REACTIONS

Conflicts of inferiority often express themselves in protective and defensive activities. The defensive mechanism involves essentially an attempt to protect oneself against real or implied criticism. As we have seen previously, the individual with inferiority conflicts is not only sensitive to direct criticism, but is also concerned lest his behavior result in criticism. Thus he develops defenses so that his friends and acquaintances have no opportunity to criticize him. There are all sorts of defenses. Among the more common are argumentativeness and belligerency. The individual who is defensive immediately sees the flaws in the other person's statements, and spends a great deal of time pointing out his errors. Thus he is spared not only the scrutiny of the other person, but also his own introspection. He is now occupied with analyzing the other person and thus has neither time nor opportunity to analyze himself. This type of person is likely to develop strong friendships as a protective mechanism but the friendships are few in number and only with those who are extremely sympathetic. Strong adherence to a new principle or one which absolves the individual from personal blame is frequently seen in such persons. Although most people admit the effect of environment and circumstances upon an individual's welfare, a person of this type generally exaggerates his unfortunate condition although he is careful not to imply that he, himself, is the product of such conditions. He therefore tends to exaggerate and dramatize the ills of the world which he secretly hopes will absolve him of being blamed by others.

The need for being on the defense causes the individual to be critical of others. He selects especially the attributes of other people which he unconsciously believes he lacks. Thus if his need for defense is in the direction of educational attainment, he tends to criticize the educational system and to minimize the importance of those who receive a good deal of formal education. He is the type of person who sees very little good in college training and believes that only the "self-made man" is worthy of approbation. The propaganda in the newspapers against the so-called "brain-trust" is a subtle attempt to influence those who have never had a college education to be on the defensive against those who have had this type of education. Consciously, or unconsciously, those in control of some newspapers realize that people are most likely to be on the defensive toward, and therefore critical of, persons who supposedly are in one way or another superior to them. The average person sees no immediate difference between himself and a more capable person unless some obvious differentiation is called to his attention. In recent years, with the growing popularity of a college education, a feeling of inferiority regarding formal education has become quite common, and therefore defenses towards one's own lacks are frequently observed.

The defense reaction often manifests itself in resentment toward those actually or supposedly in authority. Thus the person with an inferiority conflict who uses the defense mechanism finds difficulty, for example, in getting along with his employers. Like the child who is alert to the criticism of his teachers and his parents, the adult is alert to the slights of and domination by his employers. He often believes that others are given greater opportunities and that he is being discriminated against because of the personal likes of his employer.

The defense mechanism may express itself in school children in the form of antagonism. Teachers find that such children resent discipline, are dominant towards their playmates, but resent being dominated. They insist on their own ways and are suspicious of the motives of others when they cannot have their own way.

Such behavior is illustrated in the following case of a boy of ten who was unable to adjust well in a public school and was therefore sent to a private boarding school. He was considered emotionally a disturbing element in the public school because of his refusal to follow directions. At home he had many temper tantrums and the parents described him as a disciplinary problem. His teachers also reported that his work was poor, and they observed that his school performance suffered most during periods of emotional upset. He was considered a trouble-maker because he frequently provoked a fight and then reported to his teacher that others were picking on him. Despite his outward dependence upon his teachers he refused to obey them and frequently used profane language to them.

Psychiatric examination disclosed conflicts of inferiority relating to his attitudes towards his parents. He believed that they favored his younger sister and that they always discriminated against him. He also believed that his teachers disliked him and that this caused them to give him poor grades. He was closely observed and it was discovered that much of his behavior was directed towards obtaining attention and recognition from his playmates. He told incredible stories about the wealth of his parents, of his stock of toys at home and of his travels. He frequently interrupted conversations in order to talk about himself. The other boys soon considered him a nuisance and accused him of lying. In turn he accused them of bullying him, and threatened to complain to the teachers. He was unable to take part in any of their activities because, as one boy expressed it, he insisted on "bossing" everyone but refused to allow anyone to give him advice. When he was given a leading role, however, as in being captain of the team, he cooperated very well and took a great deal of interest in the games.

The treatment in this case consisted of a gradual transfer from the protection of adults to free play within groups of other children. He was placed in many activities, and was given school work in which he succeeded immediately. This success minimized his feelings of inferiority, and because of his successes he had less reason to refuse to take part in other activities. In time more difficult work was assigned to him and the situation was so regulated that his obvious successes would be interspersed with part successes and with failures. In this way it was expected that he would be able to face failure without resorting to attitudes of persecution to absolve himself of blame. Although the therapy was not entirely successful, his temper tantrums and argumentativeness decreased both in intensity and frequency. His attitudes towards success changed and he became less concerned with excelling his playmates.

Antagonistic behavior as an expression of conflicts of inferiority is psychologically related to temper tantrums. One aspect of a temper tantrum is the rebellion against frustration. When an individual believes that his attainment of success is interfered with, he is likely to react with anger.

Conflicts of inferiority are encouraged by the attitudes which parents inculcate in their children. Parents encourage children to believe in their impending successes. The drive towards success causes children to be sensitive to insignificant failures and to errors which are of little consequence. Such individuals are in need of constant praise and are easily distressed by imagined slights. They are jealous of the successes of others. They envy the attention their friends and acquaintances receive from teachers or others. Adults whose sense of inferiority developed on the basis of an exaggeration of their importance by their parents also show the same type of behavior. Unless they dominate the situation in which they find themselves they tend to withdraw because they imagine that the others do not appreciate them sufficiently or are purposely slighting them. Their attempts to gain success cause them to become domineering and argumentative. They cannot bear to be corrected and they interpret denial of their beliefs as personal insults.

EGOCENTRIC BEHAVIOR

Egocentricity is one of the mechanisms which individuals often unconsciously adopt to solve their conflicts of inferiority. The egocentric individual attempts to dominate the situation in one way or another. The young child often attempts to dominate by the use of physical force. The adolescent and the adult use more subtle ways. They tend to take the leading role in conversation, they develop strong attitudes, they maintain their positions in the face of contradictory evidence, and tend to interrupt the conversation of others.

The egocentric behavior of some individuals resembles hypomanic behavior in many ways. They utilize every opportunity to talk about themselves, about their abilities, knowledge, skills and possessions. They tend to monopolize conversations and discuss every subject with a show of confidence. Because of the underlying feelings of inferiority, the individual must utilize every opportunity to maintain his importance and prestige. In part his status and prestige are maintained by telling others about his virtues and by attempting to impress others with his importance. At the same time he avoids an evaluation of his own problems and difficulties because he utilizes his energy and time in his constant talkativeness and his activities.

Egocentric behavior as a defense against inferiority and insecurity may have its basis in an overprotective situation in the home during early childhood. The overprotective attitude of parents results in an inability of the child to compete with others outside of the home on an equal basis. At the same time the child develops an attitude of self-importance because the very overprotectiveness of the parents implies to him that he is an important person. When the time comes for the child to adjust to others outside of his home, he finds that he receives neither protection nor the attention that he previously received. In consequence anxiety develops and the egocentric behavior is in part a protest mechanism against actual or implied criticism by others.

Egocentric behavior may take the form of exploiting the people or conditions with which the individual is identified. Thus adolescents often attempt to maintain their importance by exaggerating the importance of their parents' occupations or their family origins or their wealth.

The exaggerations of the egocentric individual are unconscious attempts at gaining status and recognition. Numerous examples are seen in the everyday life of individuals who attempt to exaggerate the importance of their jobs, or of their knowledge, or of their social or economic positions. The methods which the adult uses are much more subtle than those of the child but the basic purpose is the same.

The adult may attempt to impress others with the uniqueness of his experiences. For example, a person making an ocean trip may exaggerate the dangers of the storms or the important people with whom he became friendly or the strange places that only he had an opportunity to see. The numerous photographs that people make on trips are exploited in many cases in order to impress others with things that they have seen or the unusual experiences that they have had. If an acquaintance tells of an unusual place he has visited the egocentric person immediately enlarges upon his own experiences in visiting unusual places. If an important personage is mentioned, he may try to impress his hearers with details about that person, with the implication that he knows that individual very well.

As mentioned previously, the child attempts to impress others in more direct ways without being aware of the untruths he tells. This is especially true of the adolescent who attempts to solve his sense of insecurity by impressing others with his important experiences. Thus one high school boy told fanciful tales to his fellow-students after every summer vacation. After returning to school in the fall, he told his fellow-students of the many countries he had visited with his parents and of the many important people that they had met. Actually he had been to a summer resort but he had previously told his acquaintances that his family was planning to visit Europe during the summer. He apparently would have lost prestige had he told them that the plans were changed and that the summer experiences were not different from those of the other students. On one occasion he drove his father's car to school and told his fellow-students that it was his own. Some of the other boys thereafter asked him to take them for rides and questioned him regarding his failures to bring the car back. He was greatly embarrassed and made all sorts of excuses for his failure to bring the car again. For two or three weeks the car was supposed to have been in the repair shop, then he stated that he had an accident with it, and finally was forced to admit that the car was not all his own but that it was owned partly by his father.

Egocentricity may manifest itself by an external appearance of withdrawal rather than by aggressive behavior. An individual may appear to be modest but nevertheless may show his egocentricity in his domination of his family or friends. A person may dominate his family, for example, by pouting or refusing to talk as well as by overtly aggressive behavior. He may dominate his acquaintances by careful and meticulous criticism of their knowledge or their behavior. If a particular subject is under discussion he may quietly point out the errors of the other person. Thus he tends to put others on the defensive by bringing out their defects or the irrelevancies of their statements. This type of egocentric individual, if he is intelligent, spends a great deal of time learning some subject thoroughly in order that he may confound some friend or acquaintance whom he suspects of having an attitude of superiority. Because of his conflicts of insecurity and inferiority he thus often makes a great effort to learn a given subject matter thoroughly, in part as a defense against implied criticism by others. He is frequently ingratiating to his superiors and insulting toward his inferiors. He is ill at ease during discussions of subjects with which he has little acquaintance and is envious of the knowledge of others and of their attainments. He thus attempts to minimize the importance of the interests of others and of subjects of which he has little knowledge. He finds all sorts of faults in his friends and frequently "plays" one friend against the other.

COMPENSATORY BEHAVIOR

One of the most frequent methods of solving conflicts of inferiority to which reference has already been made, is by compensatory behavior. As stated previously, compensatory behavior is utilized by almost every individual, but in varying degrees. In some instances the attempt to overcome a real or imagined inferiority is consciously formulated. The individual may recognize his physical inferiority, for example, and take the necessary steps to improve his physical condition. On the other hand, most individuals are unaware of the process of compensatory behavior, and rationalize their activities by believing that they are due to their desires and interests. Compensatory behavior which takes the form of attempting to improve a recognized defect is not as frequent as compensatory activities which take the form of an attempt to develop interests or abilities in directions other than the real or imagined inferiorities. The intensity of the motivating conflicts, the environmental opportunities and the level of intelligence are the most important determining factors in fashioning the nature of the compensatory activities.

The intelligence of the individual determines to a great extent the kind of compensatory activity which he undertakes. Persons of a high level of intelligence often attempt to compensate for their inferiorities by accomplishment in intellectual affairs. They read intensively and thus become proficient in a given field of learning. Others obtain extensive formal education, giving up many comforts in order to become known as learned and intellectually proficient. They may show little interest in personal comforts or material possessions. These individuals are not aware of the process of their compensatory drives. Their activities are generally explained as due to an intense intellectual curiosity and a high degree of perseverance. The basis of their drives for intellectual attainments is, however, a constant motivation by unconscious conflicts, the nature of which they are unaware. If they attain recognition through their interests and their productivity, they become well adjusted, since the conflicts, though they may not be entirely solved, are submerged underneath the drive for attainment.

Persons of mediocre intelligence and ability cannot submerge or solve their conflicts as easily as persons of high intellectual ability. The compensatory behavior that they assume often gives them little status and recognition. Such individuals may compensate for their inferiorities by developing a given skill, although the development of skills is not limited to individuals of average intelligence but is also observed in persons of high intelligence. An unusual interest and ability in playing golf or bridge, in swimming or in skating may serve as excellent compensations for conflicts of inferiority. Unusual ability in playing bridge may not only be a fortunate way of solving a conflict of inferiority, but may also be an important asset socially. Thus, for example, insecurity in meeting people socially may be compensated for by one's ability to play bridge. The accomplished bridge player makes frequent reference to the game, and especially to his method of playing. To the person who does not play this game it is astonishing to observe how the accomplished player takes the game seriously and the enthusiasm he shows in speaking of minor details.

Almost every individual at some time or another attempts to develop skill in some game, whether it is bridge, golf, tennis, swimming, or target shooting. When an individual develops to the point of competing on an equal basis with others in a given game, and especially when he shows superiority to most of his acquaintances, he derives a great deal of satisfaction, and through the superiority attains a sense of security which was impossible previously. The individual proves to himself that he is a worthwhile and even superior person. In addition, the intensity with which the individual identifies himself with a given activity does not allow him to be introspective about his real problems and thus saves him from the discomforts of the emotional tensions of his conflicts.

Stimulation into compensatory behavior is often employed by educators in training children. Teachers, for example, attempt to give each child a feeling of success in one activity or another. When a teacher discovers that a child believes himself inferior to others she often attempts to interest him in some activity in which he can be successful even to the point of superiority to others. Children unable to attain success in the usual academic subjects are given an opportunity to excel in shop work or in music or in other non-academic skills. Athletics is another way of stimulating success. The good football or basketball player no longer needs to attain academic success in order to attain recognition. Indeed, it is far more important for the high school or college student to be successful in athletics than in his classroom work. Unfortunately, however, it is frequently impossible to find any activity in which a child can excel, and his constant failures increase his conflicts of inferiority. Thus the very attempt of teachers to inculcate in a child a feeling of success frequently intensifies his conflicts of inferiority.

The universality of compensatory behavior as a method of making up for an inferiority is further shown by the popular opinion that every individual is in some way or other a superior person. By this is meant that an individual may have an inferiority in regard to his physical condition, his education, his earning capacity or his social status, but nevertheless has some characteristic or ability which is superior to the abilities and characteristics of others. Almost every individual believes that he has some hidden talent which may manifest itself at an opportune moment. The phantasies of many people contain stories and incidents of great exploits in one direction or another, and every person projects into the future the development of an ability which will give him his due and just recognition. Many people, however, cannot project into the future the successes and recognition which they desire at the moment. For this reason, they attempt, in one way or another, to attain recognition and status which will be recognized immediately by outsiders.

Phantasy is a common way of compensating for lacks and defects. As we shall see in Chapter V, phantasy may also serve as sensory satisfaction when overt and direct behavior is impossible. During the first few years of childhood make-believe play at times serves as a direct and simple compensatory activity. The young child is relatively unselfconscious, and his actions are direct wish-fulfillments.[3] As he matures, make-believe play is discarded and organized phantasies are substituted. The phantasies of the young child resemble make-believe play in the simplicity of the stories and in the direct way in which desires are attained. Later on the phantasies become more complex and symbolic items are utilized which makes direct compensatory satisfaction somewhat difficult.

In all phantasies the individual emerges victor or attains conditions highly improbable in real life. The greater the sense of failure the greater the attainment during phantasy. The compensatory attainments of phantasy are usually directed towards prestige or status within a special group, the family or the community. Thus the child or adult saves an important person from drowning, performs some heroic feat for his country, discovers a gold mine, or is chosen as the head of an organization or the leader of his community.[4]

The phantasies of the average person are fleeting and are usually related to his immediate problems. The frequency of his phantasies and their content depend upon his everyday environmental problems. A person with conflicts of inferiority tends to systematize his phantasies. That is, the phantasies are frequent and tend to repeat themselves with their content only slightly altered from one time to another. The story of these systematized phantasies is determined by the conflicts of the person.

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[3] Edward S. Robinson, The compensatory function of make-believe play, Psychological review, 1920, 27, 434–438.

[4] See J. Varendonck, The psychology of daydreams, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1921, pp. 367.

The following are common compensatory mechanisms which are frequently systematized, and which at times strongly influence the personality of the individual.

Peculiarities of behavior. — As has been mentioned previously, recognition and attention may be obtained either by being superior to others or by being different. Because superiority is not easily attained many persons attempt to differentiate themselves from their fellow-men by developing peculiar or eccentric characteristics.

All sorts of peculiar characteristics and reactions can be observed. Eccentric dress is a common way of differentiation. The individual who dresses in a peculiar fashion, either over-meticulously or shabbily, attracts attention. Many persons buy sport clothes, for example, and wear them in rather inappropriate situations. The adoption of a foreign accent of speech is a common method of obtaining attention. Inaudible or extraordinarily loud speech may also attract attention.

Possessions. — Compensatory behavior by identification with one's possessions is a method commonly employed to gain prestige and at the same time to make up for some defect or inferiority. Some persons furnish their homes in fashionable and gaudy ways, impressing visitors with their unusual tastes. Others collect various articles of furniture, such as paintings, antiques, oriental rugs and so on. Still others gain superiority by outdoing their friends in buying articles of furniture which cost more than they can really afford. For many people an expensive automobile makes up for a feeling of insecurity. Some individuals are unable to buy any article, whether clothing or house furnishings, unless it comes from a fashionable store and is expensive. Collection of particular objects is a common method of compensatory behavior. Some individuals collect bric-a-brac, others collect stamps, still others, coins. These individuals not only are personally proud of their collections, but also take a great deal of the time of others in explaining their possessions and impressing them with the uniqueness of the articles. Not only is there a personal pride in their possessions, but the articles also allow these individuals to identify themselves with groups who do similar collecting.

Identifications. — Unusual possessions allow an individual to identify himself with their superiority. By identifying himself with a superior object the individual thus may have a feeling of personal superiority. The astute attorney or physician drives an expensive automobile, has a fashionable office, and furnishes it in an expensive style. He unconsciously or consciously realizes that his clients will also be impressed by the way in which he lives. In turn, they will consider him to be superior also.

Identification with unusual or unique possessions is observed in the young child as well as the adult. The young child frequently attempts to attain superiority by identification with his unusual or expensive toys. The adolescent frequently attains recognition by identifying himself with his parents' background and by giving others the impression that his parents own an expensive automobile or live in a large house. Some adults move into fashionable neighborhoods in their attempt to identify themselves with superior conditions. Apartment rentals, for example, become exorbitant when the neighborhood becomes fashionable. People who require identification as a compensatory process are eager to move into a fashionable neighborhood. They exult in telling others, either openly or subtly, about their expensive apartments or the fashionableness and importance of their neighbors.

Another form of identification is through affiliation with important societies or organizations. To belong to a fashionable social group is the aspiration of many young girls. In furtherance of their need for compensation, the members of such organizations take part in charitable activities, gaining prestige by helping the "poor." Naturally they are not clearly aware of the basic importance of their activities. Their belabored interest for the "poor and unfortunate" is a means of making themselves important, and does not require active competition for productive attainment.

Neighborhood groups, literary societies, and discussion leagues to which so many people belong, and which may have intrinsic value and definite social functions, are also means by which an individual identifies himself for the purpose of attaining prestige. Many men belong to expensive country clubs and to various exclusive organizations as a means of identification. Still others identify themselves with a variety of "causes" and reform societies. In the past five or six years, possibly as a result of the personal and economic insecurity of many people, the number of reform organizations has increased greatly. Organizations have been formed to rid the country of undesirables and of aliens, to reform politics, to remake our society, to fight for liberty. Many of these organizations have existed for a long time but they have recently obtained many recruits. Even those organizations which are not obviously founded by demagogues contain in their membership persons who are eager to obtain an opportunity to satisfy themselves in some activity which will enhance their prestige. Many persons rationalize their activities by insisting that they are social-minded and patriotic, that they are furthering democracy and liberty, or that they are interested in raising the level of culture.

The compensatory activities of some individuals manifest themselves in identification with superior activities. They overestimate the value of academic affiliations. They let it be known that they read only the "best" literature, or that their friends are of the "intelligent" class. College students frequently select the institutions which they attend because of a need for identification. They are eager to go to a college which was founded in the colonial period, or to a large institution which has a great deal of prestige, or to a school which is noted for its athletic teams. Their unconscious striving for superiority can thus be easily satisfied.

ESCAPE REACTIONS

A DISCUSSION of the manifestations of conflicts of inferiority can not be complete without mention of their solution by means of the escape mechanism. Escapes are so common and are so frequently observed both in normal and neurotic individuals that they have often been overlooked psychologically. Every individual, at one time or another, attempts to escape from his difficulties in a variety of ways. The normal individual does not employ escape consistently, but the neurotic often uses the mechanism of escape persistently in order to adjust to his problems and frustrations.

The most common form of escape is seen in the rationalizations which every individual employs, but which are very frequent in the person with conflicts of inferiority. By rationalization is meant the attempt of the individual to develop reasons and excuses for his real or imagined failures. Although rationalization is frequently carried on at the level of awareness, most rationalizations are unconsciously developed. The reasons and excuses which the individual gives sound plausible both to himself and others, and thus absolve him from a sense of guilt for his failure to attain his original goals or accomplish his purposes. The individual who, at one time, had as one of his goals a college education, for example, may rationalize his failure to attain his purpose by pointing to his successes in other fields or by distorting the facts regarding education. He may express a belief, for example, that formal education often is a detriment to the initiative of an individual.

Excessive activity is often employed by individuals as an escape from their problems. Individuals with conflicts of inferiority are especially likely to utilize this mechanism of escape, probably as a method of avoiding close scrutiny of themselves. An intense inferiority conflict may cause an individual to introspect a great deal. Such an individual evaluates every situation in which he finds himself in terms of his own status, especially in terms of his prestige. No matter what he does and no matter whom he meets, he is constantly aware of the problem of making a good impression. Following any activity or any contact with other persons, he is full of regrets, wondering whether he did the right thing or made appropriate conversation. He is generally unable to concentrate upon his work, especially if it is of sedentary type. In consequence, he tends to be physically or mentally active. With the least amount of urging from others, he enters into a new activity. He is fond of making trips, partly in order that he may enhance his prestige by recounting his experiences to others on his return. He changes his interests frequently, shows great enthusiasm for a short time, then decides suddenly upon a new interest.

In men, and at times in women, the escape from one's inferiority may take the form of an attempt to be "masculine." This attempt to be "masculine," as implied in the customary meaning of the term, has no relationship to the physical status of the individual. The overweight, well-developed person is as likely to attempt to be highly masculine as the underweight, undersized individual. The person with this type of reaction attempts to do daring things and places himself in dangerous situations so that he can win approval from others and from himself for his courage and bravery. He tells shady stories, attends risqué shows, and in many other ways tries to impress himself and others with his so-called masculinity. In his relationship with women his interests are inconstant so that his affairs are many but always short-lived. Although he is often embarrassed by relationships with the opposite sex, he nevertheless goes far enough so that he can recount the many conquests he has made.

As we shall see in Chapter VI, the symptoms of a neurotic person are due in part to his (unconscious) attempts to solve his conflicts. The solution of the conflicts frequently takes the form of an escape mechanism. Escape mechanisms are not always satisfactory solutions, however. Furthermore, feelings of inferiority often increase when the individual becomes aware of the fact that he is utilizing escape reactions to solve his problems.

Outward manifestations of the escape process of symptom formation as a reaction to conflicts are frequently seen in the mentally abnormal individual. In given cases the abnormal individual organizes his behavior much more definitely than the neurotic person. Thus the abnormal person's symptoms are likely to be more circumscribed and constant. The normal or neurotic person changes his mechanisms of adjustment at times, but the abnormal may continue his given symptoms for many years, changes taking place with deterioration only.

In a large number of instances the normal individual at least partially solves his conflicts by retreat. He may deny the existence of his difficulties. At the same time he usually decreases his contacts with those he believes will discover his defects. As a result of this retreat, the individual's behavior may be erratic because he is constantly anxious about himself. The embarrassment and shyness which often accompany the retreat mechanism function as further modes of retreat. The individual is careful not to "give himself away," that is, he is careful not to allow others to scrutinize him closely. As a result, he may become relatively uncommunicative. He is therefore likely to be shunned by his former friends and acquaintances. Furthermore, he makes few efforts to develop friends because he is fearful of being slighted or criticized. He thus protects himself both from slights and scrutiny by not involving himself in close personal relationships through which others might discover his real or imagined defects. He is not aware, however, that his own behavior has caused loss of old friends and the lack of new friends, and he is thus likely to complain about the attitudes of others, basing his complaints upon the very fact that he is unable to accumulate a circle of friends.

In the case of a young woman of twenty-seven, the result of a long period during which conflicts of inferiority prevailed was a group of symptoms characterized mainly by retreat, anxiety, and protective and defensive attitudes which functioned as a method of avoiding close scrutiny by other people. As a child she was not as attractive as her two sisters. Her parents often chided her for her unattractiveness, probably as a form of punishment. They also used her defect as a disciplinary measure by calling it to her attention when they wished to stimulate her initiative. As an adolescent she was awkward, easily embarrassed, sensitive to criticism and felt socially ostracized. She required constant urging and praise in order to do her best work, and felt hurt and slighted when immediate praise was not forthcoming.

As a result of her awareness that her family had not treated her well she began to dislike her parents. Later she developed a sense of guilt because of her reaction to the family. She attempted to compensate for her unattractive appearance during adolescence by developing an interest in clothes and in literature. She was soon recognized as a well-dressed girl and she apparently gained a good deal of satisfaction in this attainment. She also used her interest in a knowledge of literature to good advantage. She seized upon all sorts of pretexts to discuss literature and she unfortunately became known among many of her high-school friends as a person who wanted to be superior. When she attended college many of these earlier problems apparently were solved because of her interest in her studies. Her symptoms reappeared with added intensity, however, when she accepted her first position after graduation. She was determined to make a great success. Unfortunately her very efforts to succeed caused her to do mediocre work. She could never finish her work in time because she was constantly confronted with the problem of doing better than the others. Although she had some friends, she thought of them only as acquaintances, since she would not allow anyone to know her intimately. The lack of friendships in turn caused her to believe that she must have serious personal defects which influenced her friends. Although she was no longer concerned with her personal appearance she now localized her feeling of inferiority upon her intelligence. She had learned to understand that most people have one or another physical defect and that her success was affected very little by her appearance. Now she emphasized intelligence, recognizing that it was an important factor in vocational success.

The psychological therapy in this case presented many difficulties and will not be reported in detail. In part, the therapy was centralized about dissolving her drive for success. This was done in order to make her feel more at ease and to reduce the frequency of her comparisons with other people. Like many other people suffering from conflicts of inferiority, she was constantly on the alert for the reactions of people to her behavior. As she stated on one occasion, she would rather say nothing when with her friends than say something unimportant.

Numerous pathological ways of escape are observed in many patients. Further mention will be made of the neurotic escapes in the discussion of the neuroses.

Some psychiatrists believe that alcoholism arises as an escape mechanism. The alcoholic is able to escape his difficulties and frustrations easily in the intoxication of alcohol. The histories of many alcoholics show that they had been overprotected during childhood, and, in many cases, had been inordinately attached to their mothers. Supposedly, therefore, they are unable to assume personal responsibilities and are also unable to withstand the competitions and frustrations of adult life. In consequence they are likely to utilize alcohol as an aid to the escape reaction. Alcoholics are frequently infantile in their emotional behavior, are inconsistent in their work habits, are prone to lie frequently, and cannot take responsibility. These characteristics are observed long before a noticeable deterioration takes place. The regressive features of the alcoholic patient may thus be further evidence of the escape mechanism. He thus symbolically and actively escapes into the infantile, helpless, protective state in which he no longer is concerned with adult problems and responsibilities. It is significant that the regressive features of the alcoholic patient cannot be treated by appealing to his sense of pride. Like the young child, the alcoholic is remorseful after he becomes sober, but without warning begins drinking again.

CHAPTER V

SEX CONFLICTS

THE EFFECT of sex conflicts upon the emotional balance of an individual has long been known. The psychoanalytic movement further emphasized the importance of the sexual basis of many neuroses, and also drew attention to the necessity of studying the role of sex problems not only in adults but also in children. In the past, emphasis was placed principally upon adolescence as a period most likely to arouse sex conflicts, on the assumption that sex maturity brings with it problems which do not exist at other periods in the individual's life. A large amount of evidence is at hand, however, to show that sex conflicts may arise at any period, even in infancy, although the effects of these conflicts may not manifest themselves at the time they develop.

A great deal of emphasis has been placed recently upon the experiences of infancy and early childhood in the formation of sex conflicts. Even during infancy, the apparently simple relationships to the mother, especially that of nursing, may be the basis of later sex conflicts through the symbolization and fixation of various experiences.

INFANTILE EROTIC EXPERIENCES

THE process of nursing from the mother's breasts produces the first erogenous experiences. Since these sensory stimuli are repeated at regular intervals and last for approximately a year, the infant becomes conditioned to these stimuli. The effect of this type of erotic stimulation upon sensory satisfaction is seen, for example, in the method many mothers use to quiet their infants. A celluloid ring, a rubber tit, or some other article is immediately given the infant when he becomes irritable or cries. Since he receives no nourishment from these articles, the only satisfaction he receives is from the sensory stimulation.

The early satisfactions derived from oral sensations often cannot be discarded easily after weaning. The fixations upon oral erotic satisfaction may result in a variety of activities as substitutes for the original experiences. Habits such as thumb-sucking, fingernail biting, and nose-picking are in some cases continuations of the original nursing sensations. The "nervous" reactions of many children and adults during which they "pick" their faces, put their fingers into their mouths, or stroke some part of the face have the same basis as thumb-sucking or nose-picking.

In many instances these sensory habits are observed during early childhood or even during infancy. Nose-picking, for example, is not an infrequent occurrence in two- or three-year-olds. Interference with a sensory habit may cause the child to become irritable, and in many cases seems to act as a further motivating influence for the continuation of the activity. The sensory activity resembles a compulsive reaction in that it tends to replace other activities.

Sensory habits frequently occur in combination. A child may have a nose-picking habit and may also bite his fingernails. A habit frequently observed and which occurs in individuals who show overt nervous tension is that of picking at the hair, especially the eyebrows. In several cases recently observed the eyebrows were completely denuded.

The original erogenous satisfaction obtained from nursing may be continued in a normal manner. For example, it may be continued in the sensory satisfaction many persons obtain from eating. The satisfaction of hunger is not the only consequence of eating as shown by the unusual appetites of many people. The deep satisfaction some individuals obtain in eating large meals, or in the unusual demands for condiments, is probably related to some oral erogenous satisfaction.

The early association of food and erogenous stimulation may later become symbolized in conflicts in which food and sex are associated. In some instances the birth process may be associated with foods. In a recent article[1] the case of a boy of seven was reported who developed conflicts because he attributed the origin of children to food. The parents reported that he showed fear at meals. When questioned he replied at first that he had no appetite but later stated that he was afraid to eat because his stomach might fill up and he would get big. He had observed the large abdomens of some women and he attributed their condition to food. He also attributed the birth of babies to the food which supposedly caused the enlargement of the abdomen before a baby was born. He stated that he therefore was afraid to eat because he did not want to have a baby. This boy had many phantasies regarding babies and the birth process. He also had phantasies and dreams which were related to his concern regarding sex.

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[1] Irene Sherman and Mandel Sherman, Birth phantasy in a young child, Psychoanalytic review, 1929, 16, 408–410.

BODILY CURIOSITY

Children begin to be curious about their bodily functions at an early age. This curiosity naturally arises from the efforts that parents use in training their children. Often children are scolded and punished into taking care of themselves and in this process a variety of emotional reactions occur towards bodily functions. In part the training is directed not only towards the control of toilet habits for social reasons but also towards inhibiting the language of the children, especially when in the presence of outsiders.

An example of the origin of children's attitudes toward their bodily functions which later influence their reactions to such functions was seen in the case of a child of three who was brought by his mother to a nursery school. On the first morning the mother took him into the toilet room. The room contained four toilet bowls and when the mother first took him in she appeared to be surprised that other children were unconcernedly going in and out of the room. When she sat the child down on the bowl she shielded him from the view of others with her coat. Later on it was observed that the child was hesitant in going to the toilet and at times insisted that the other children go out of the room. He showed a similar modesty toward adults. It is possible that this modesty may be the basis for a sense of guilt since the child will in time become curious about various bodily processes.

In general the sex interests and curiosity of children develop only after some socialization has taken place. In the process of socialization they gain some insight into taboos which society at large, and their parents especially, impose upon them. At this time they may react rebelliously against the restrictions which they meet in the attempt to satisfy their interests. The attempts of parents to decrease the curiosity of young children may intensify their interests. Their attempts at satisfaction and the counter attempts by parents at deterence account for many conflicts.

In many homes taboos are imposed very early upon children regarding their discussion of toilet habits. Mothers frequently insist that their children refrain from talking about toilet habits except with them. Even mothers are embarrassed and often shield themselves from their embarrassment by giving the functions some special names. The effect of this is to give children a belief that bodily functions have some mysterious origin and that they are unnatural. The caution which parents use in discussing bodily needs also implies to the children something "bad." In consequence, children begin to use unusual terms for toilet habits and discuss their bodies furtively with other children.

In a recent study [2] the reactions of nursery school children to toilet habits were observed. It was found that the majority of children used special names for toilet habits. In addition they utilized these names in general conversation and at times as terms of derision towards other children. Thus, one child, who became angry at another, called out, "You're a B.M." Another child who was angry at his playmate for taking his tricycle called him "a number one," and threatened to tell everyone that he was just that. Children of this age sometimes believe that their bodily functions have some special significance for themselves and it is difficult for them to understand that other children act in the same way. This is probably due to the secrecy which mothers have established and which they attempt to impose upon their children.

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[2] Miriam S. Dillon, Attitudes of children toward their own bodies and those of other children, Child development, 1934, 5, 165–176.

A child of four or five is generally curious about bodily structure and the differences between boys and girls. He has an urge to satisfy his curiosity and to discuss the observations he makes. His training, however, is a deterrent to such behavior. It is at this time that many psychosexual traumata occur. These "traumata" are the results of transgressions of taboos imposed upon them. Sometimes the basis is a curiosity resulting in the examination of one child by another, and at other times it occurs because a child may be interested in the structure of one parent or another. These transgressions and the resulting sense of guilt often cause the child to keep the secret of his "wrongdoing" for many years. Conflicts later arise because some personal defect or inferiority is then ascribed to the early behavior.

At the age of five or six, children often ascribe personal values to the genitalia. Girls often feel deprived because they do not have the same structure as boys. The "masculine protest," variously identified and interpreted by different observers, is frequently identified with a given concept of the nature and meaning of the genitalia. Girls want to be like boys because they frequently believe that the social and play discriminations imposed upon them are due to their structural differences. Boys are generally allowed to play more actively and are not protected as much as girls. Parents, and especially mothers, insist upon cleanliness on the part of girls and very often confine them to the house a great deal more than boys. Being allowed to do presumably as one pleases, and being allowed to be active and somewhat independent of adults, are often considered by children as criteria of masculinity.

The "masculine protest" which Alfred Adler and others describe in different terms shows itself in many children at various ages. As already stated, in a young child it frequently appears in terms of a desire on the part of girls to have the genitalia of boys and in boys in terms of the size of their genitalia. During adolescence, girls very often attempt to simulate the behavior of boys, and boys in turn attempt to imitate the actions of adults. Thus adolescent boys often transgress social restrictions in their attempt to be important. They use profane language, boast of their sex behavior, and do many other things to bolster their masculinity. Adolescent boys often relate fanciful tales to their playmates about their sex experiences.

Adults very often behave in the same way as adolescents. Women who have feelings of inferiority may attempt to compensate by so-called masculine traits. They insist upon doing what men are supposed to be allowed to do. They often assume so-called masculine characteristics and their dress and experiences also simulate those of men. They constantly protest against the superior position of men and blame their inferiority on the fact that they are women.

Men make varied attempts to be "masculine." They may tell risqué stories, or enjoy relating fanciful experiences of their conquests of women. They attempt to gain the reputation of being "worldly" by elaborating stories of their escapades. They resent any implication of possessing "feminine" traits.

PARENT IDENTIFICATION

IDENTIFICATION with and attachment to a parent frequently take place as an attempt to obtain affection and security. In most instances behavior which appears as affectional arises from an attachment, the basis of which is a desire for security. The identification of the young boy with his father and his attachment to him probably arise because of a desire to attain security and prestige. Boys frequently gain recognition from their playmates by extolling the accomplishments of their fathers. If their fathers are physically strong, if they are rich, talented, or distinguished, the sons assume importance also. Frequently, however, the young boy reattaches himself to the mother following the initial attachment to the father. This reattachment is symbolically a means of displacing the father for the affection of the mother. This in part is a means of attaining further importance, since the boy unconsciously also assumes the father's important role in other respects.

The rivalry with the father causes the attachment to the mother to become more intense. Consequently the son becomes indifferent and frequently hostile to the father. A similar mechanism is found in the daughter whose attachment is at first to the mother, with the consequent desire to replace her affectionately in the relationships to the father. Some writers assume that every child passes through a stage of attachment to the parent of the opposite sex with an accompanying rivalry to the other parent. In some cases, it is supposed, the child does not outgrow this attachment and rivalry and so remains in constant conflict. This conflict is then intensified when the individual matures and realizes that society expects him to act differently. This mechanism is observed in many individuals, but there is grave doubt regarding its universality. Not one experimental, or otherwise controlled, study has been made to discover the truth of this assumed mechanism. Thus statements regarding "stages" of sexual growth, infantile fixations, and so on, must be understood as hypotheses, useful perhaps as descriptive terms, but certainly not as scientific interpretations or as founded explanations. Thus statements about the anal level and the oral level are probably presumed "levels" of behavior. To many people not accustomed to scientific investigation they appear as sound explanations of behavior.

Of the recent studies of the attitudes of children toward their parents, that by Meltzer is of considerable significance.[3] Meltzer realized that it was impossible to obtain a true picture of children's identifications with their parents through the ordinary questionnaire procedure, and that an interpretation of the overt behavior is usually made on the basis of the preconceived theory of the observer. In consequence, the experimental procedure was controlled in such a way that the children examined did not realize the significance of their responses. Seventy girls and eighty boys from the fifth to the eighth grade were asked to state quickly their first ten thoughts regarding their fathers and their mothers. After proper preparation it was believed that their responses were spontaneous, that is, the procedure of examination approximated the free association method. From the results obtained it was obvious that the particular problems of the individual child determined his reactions to his parents. Apparently, parent identification with sexual connotations is not inherent in the relationships between children and their parents. The following two tables from the report by Meltzer illustrate some of the findings expressed in percentage terms of the total responses of the children.

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[3] H. Meltzer, Children's attitudes to parents, The American journal of orthopsychiatry, 1935, 5, 244–265.

FORMS OF EMOTIONAL EXPRESSION

	Both Parents %	*Mother* %	*Father* %
Hostility	0.5	0.3	0.8
Fear	0.3	0.2	0.4
Guilt	0.0	0.1	—
Shame	0.1	—	0.1
Remorse	0.0	0.1	—
Ambivalence — conflict	5.2	3.6	6.7
Neutral acceptance	29.7	30.6	28.8
Respect	56.1	55.1	57.1
Admiration — with sense of limitations	8.0	9.9	6.1
Adoration	0.1	0.1	—

PARENTAL ATTACHMENT LEVELS OF CHILDREN

	Both Parents %	*Mother* %	*Father* %
Overdependence	2.0	2.3	1.6
Willing dependence	43.6	43.7	43.4
Independent attachment	35.1	35.4	34.9
Forced dependence	14.6	14.9	14.4
Insecurity	2.4	2.1	2.8
Rejection	2.2	1.6	2.9

The negative findings of Meltzer's study in regard to parental attachments are in contrast to the prevailing psychoanalytic theory. These results do not mean that parent attachments involving subtle and repressed sex manifestations are not seen frequently. On the contrary, parental attachments and rejections involving sex connotations are seen in many instances and frequently result in many maladjustments. Many psychiatrists have shown that individuals who cannot detach themselves from one or the other parent may later develop neurotic behavior. Parental "fixations" may involve an individual later on not only in abnormal sex adjustments but also in personality traits characterized principally by dependency reactions.

That given types of parental attachments frequently result in sex conflicts during adulthood is clearly illustrated in the following summary of the behavior of a young married woman of twenty-three. She asked for psychiatric treatment for the purpose of curing her "nervousness." Her husband stated that she was irritable and that she was constantly complaining about his behavior towards her. After the marriage, which took place when she was twenty-one, she insisted upon living with her family, which included the parents, two brothers, and two sisters. The husband stated that she was always more attentive to her brothers and sisters but also interfered with their activities and sought to force her advice upon them.

The first marital difficulties arose because she complained that her husband did not give her sufficient money to maintain the home properly. The husband stated that she was extravagant and was a poor manager. They also became sexually maladjusted soon after the marriage. She had insisted upon a platonic relationship with her husband for some ten weeks following the marriage. When sex relations were established, she was frigid and showed her displeasure to her husband.

The patient stated that she was worried about her family and feared that if she moved out of her parents' home, as her husband insisted, the family would be broken up. If she were forced to move away, she wanted to take her father with her since the parents did not get along well together and she felt that the mother would be better off living away from the father. She was also very much worried because she suspected that her brother, who was twenty-three, was having immoral relations with a young girl, a distant relative of theirs.

In her everyday behavior the patient was quite prudish, was very much disturbed because of the behavior of most young people, and seemed to be displeased at conversation or books with sex connotations.

As a child, she was inordinately attached to the father. She related many incidents of discrimination of the mother against her and of the difficulties which arose when she took the father's part in quarrels.

In the analysis of this woman's present behavior, her early childhood attachment to the father and the early sex repressions are clearly seen as factors. Her complaints against her husband, especially about his failure to provide sufficient money, and her expansive use of his money, are probably mechanisms through which she was punishing him. Her meticulous care of her brothers and sisters and her fear that they would be married and thus break up the family or would indulge in immoral behavior were means of keeping her mother role in the home.

The patient complained, for example, that she was forced to marry by her mother because her husband was considered a good "catch." Her nervousness was in part due to her conflict between her revulsion against having sex relations with her husband and the feeling that it was her duty to live with him in the ordinary way. Consequently she unconsciously developed many symptoms which interfered with a normal sex life. For example, she became easily tired, went to bed early, and refused to be disturbed by her husband. She also insisted upon going on long vacations and in many other ways showed a desire to be away from her husband. Although the husband felt that she did not care very much for him, he was somewhat confused by the fact that she did take meticulous care of his diet and whenever he complained of some illness she insisted upon the most expensive medical care. This apparent solicitude for his health was, in reality, however, the result only of a sense of guilt about wanting to be rid of him. Because she actually was hostile to her husband she compensated for this hostility by a solicitous attitude toward his health.

SUBSTITUTE SENSORY SATISFACTIONS

DIFFICULTIES of adjustment often arise in the adult because of prolonged satisfaction in various sensory habits. The individual, substituting sensory reactions for adult erotic expression, finds difficulty in adjustment at an adult level. As an example of such substitutions, instances are observed in which adults obtain sensory satisfaction through the continuation of early childhood habits. As stated previously, young children find sensory satisfaction from their toilet habits, often associating sex phenomena with bodily functions. Erotic satisfaction through bodily functions may serve as a mechanism of substitution for more mature sex behavior. Conflicts then arise when the individual is forced into sexual behavior of a mature type.

An example of the consequence of sensory substitution was seen in the case of an eighteen-year-old girl. She complained of unusual frequency of urination and of anxiety lest she become incontinent. She stated that she was especially uneasy in the presence of strangers for fear she might lose bladder control. Consequently she refused to enter into social activities that might prevent her from going to the toilet frequently.

Investigation showed that this girl had been inordinately attached to her father and had rigid moral training. On several occasions she had a sense of guilt for fear she had transgressed social sanctions. She stated that she had many sex phantasies and had felt guilty over thinking about sex and sex problems.

The patient had been trained in proper toilet habits only after great difficulty. She frequently soiled herself, and had intermittent nocturnal eneuresis between the ages of four and five. She was also frequently constipated during childhood, partly, according to her parents, because she had had a finicky appetite and had refused to eat laxative foods.

The patient developed frequency of urination when she was fifteen. At that time she was attending high school and felt that she was not popular, especially with the boys. She was extremely curious about sex but felt that her parents would disapprove of her if they discovered this interest. Following an experience of "necking" with an older boy, frequency of urination developed. She believed, at that time, that she might have contracted some disease from this boy. The frequency disappeared after two months and reappeared at the age of eighteen.

Erotic satisfaction is at times obtained by means of sensory habits. Thus, various oral habits are examples of such sensory activities. In many cases reactions properly classified as tics may serve the same purpose. Children and adults frequently have tics of scratching the scalp, picking the eyebrows, pulling the ears, stroking the face, and thumb-sucking.

ADOLESCENT SEX PROBLEMS

During adolescence many sex problems arise because of the effect of physiological maturation. Sex maturation does not account fully, however, for the variety of conflicts observed in adolescents. As many sociologists and anthropologists have pointed out, sex conflicts arise mainly because of the attitudes of adults toward the behavior of adolescents. In other words, conflicts arise because of the social implications of their behavior.

In the past it was believed that conflicts, especially those involving sex, "naturally" arise during adolescence. Some psychiatrists still believe that adolescence represents a peculiar "stage" in development, and that definite characteristics may be expected to emerge during this period. Among the many studies on adolescence that of Margaret Mead [4] showed most clearly the factor of environmental pressure and adult attitudes upon the behavior of children. Mead found that in Samoa the girls do not pass through the typical adolescent "stage" which is found in our own society. Adolescence was found to be part of an orderly maturational process. Thus it can be assumed that the basic problems of adolescents are in great part only a reflection of the difficulties of social adjustments.

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[4] Margaret Mead, Coming of age in Samoa, 1928, New York, William Morrow and Company, pp. 297.

In groups where there is little emphasis upon transgressions of sex regulations and upon rigid principles of morality, few conflicts arise during adolescence. In our own society, however, the watchful attitudes of adults toward adolescents and the social restrictions imposed upon their desires for new experience frequently result in conflicts.

Previous mention was made of the attempt of adolescents to be masculine, that is, grown up. Since being grown up implies independence and the ability to act without restriction from adults, conflicts arise because independence is not easily attained. Furthermore, to many individuals, especially adolescents, being grown up implies a breaking away from the restrictions of adults and the protection of parents. In the general realm of moral behavior this interpretation of independence is especially pertinent. Thus the adolescent often attempts to impress his adulthood and his sophistication in terms of the number of transgressions he has been able to attain.

Adolescents, having but a vague idea of the meaning of sex experience, dilate upon their supposed escapades. Adolescent boys call attention to themselves by stories of so-called conquests of girls, and the subject of "petting" and "necking" is very popular. Prestige is often attained by adolescent boys from the use of improper language or a knowledge of sex matters. Frequently, however, conflicts arise because the motivation to sex experiences is frustrated by the numerous restrictions of the environment and by the guilt resulting from early training. Studies of the behavior of adolescents and of youths show clearly that the sex conflicts which are frequently ascribed to early trauma, or to various fixations, are in reality the result of a discrepancy between their desires to attain the sex behavior which is supposedly the criterion of masculinity in adulthood and the restrictions imposed upon them by society.

Secondary conflicts may arise as a result of the attempt to solve sex conflicts. When an individual decides to have sex experiences his actions frequently involve him in transgressions of his family traditions and concepts. This increases the social distance from his family and thus frequently tends to jeopardize his security. In consequence further conflicts may arise which interfere with the attempts to solve the original sex conflicts.

Few systematic studies have been made of the reaction to sex frustration. It is generally assumed that most individuals sublimate their sex desires, thus avoiding conflict. An interesting study by Taylor [5] indicates, however, that relatively few individuals satisfactorily sublimate their sex drives, and that few indeed completely sublimate their sex desires. The term sublimation was employed by Taylor in the way in which it ordinarily is thought of, that is, to employ activities of a higher level to take the place of sex expression. Taylor obtained a good deal of information on forty male adults between the ages of 21 and 30 and repeated these observations from time to time over a period of years. He found that no individual is able to sublimate completely his sex desires and that each one uses a variety of ways of expressing himself. The most consistent method was masturbation, which was found in sixty-three per cent of all the cases. In spite of the statements of these individuals that they masturbated often against their will, it was significant that in a number of instances it continued after marriage. The dissatisfaction which the individuals expressed with their form of sex expression was probably in part due to traditional attitudes and not because the behavior was not satisfying.

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[5] W. S. Taylor, A critique of sublimation in males, Genetic psychology monographs, 1933, 13, 1–115.

Although the study made by Taylor may be criticized on the basis of the small number of cases and on the subjectivity of the method (as indeed Taylor himself admits), it is nevertheless one of the few attempts at obtaining direct information. It shows that although masturbation may fulfill frustrated sex desires most individuals are discontented with this outlet. The probability of a sense of guilt was not stressed by Taylor, but it may have been a factor contributing to the discontent.

A study which is being made at present of adolescent boys' attitudes toward sex problems illustrates some of the reactions to masturbation. A frequent reaction, for example, is a dislike of gymnasium activities. Of twenty-two boys who were studied intensively because they reacted antagonistically towards taking part in gymnasium work, or refused to attend gymnasium classes, the majority had a sense of guilt regarding masturbation. Through free association it was discovered that they believed that when they appeared undressed the other boys and the instructor might recognize that they masturbated. In addition they were ashamed of their bodies.

UNUSUAL SEX DEMANDS

DURING youth and adulthood the consequences of early sex conflicts often make their appearance in a variety of neurotic symptoms and frequently in abberations of sex behavior. Mention will be made in the chapter on "Conflicts and Neuroses" of the predominant role which sex conflicts play in the development of the anxiety neuroses. The combination of a feeling of inferiority and insecurity, of periods of panic, of a feeling of self-depreciation, and of a sense of impending doom is frequently related directly to attitudes of guilt towards early sex behavior.

The person with an anxiety neurosis is invariably one whose early experiences resulted in a sense of guilt involving his moral behavior. The projection of impending calamities into the near future probably is in part an unconscious method of self-punishment in order to expiate for the sins which were supposedly committed.

The individual with a sense of guilt involving sex conflicts frequently is unable to make the proper transference to the person of the opposite sex. Such an individual is involved in the difficulty of a desire to conform to ordinary social conditions and requirements and a hesitancy because of an inability to consider any affectional relationship as proper because the desire results in an intensification of his sex conflicts. Peculiarly, a person of this type makes frequent "conquests," partly in order to prove himself as normal and as acceptable to woman as other men whom he considers normal. These "conquests" are quite superficial, however, because close and intimate relationships cannot be established. As soon as it becomes apparent that some commitment must be made, that some final decision is imminent, the person retreats. He rationalizes his retreat by explaining that he is not ready for marriage or implies that he might marry in the distant future. At other times he may find some fundamental fault with the other person, thus making it mandatory that he break off his relationship.

Unusual sex demands often arise out of conflicts regarding impotency. The alcoholic, for example, recognizing his growing impotency, begins to believe that his wife is unfaithful. His belief in the unfaithfulness of his wife functions as a defense of his impotency, and justifies him in his lack of sex desire. On the other hand, in men whose alcoholism has caused no organic disturbances and in those whose impotency is due to conflicts regarding masculinity and virility, the sex behavior may take the form of excessive desire. Sex relations are demanded by such men as an unconscious attempt to prove their virility. In most cases the choice of a partner is of small importance. In older men there may be a deliberate choice, but only in terms of age. The older man with conflicts regarding impotency chooses a young woman, since the "conquest" of a young woman is added proof of virility.

ATYPICAL REACTIONS

A NUMBER of psychiatrists believe that homosexual behavior depends upon the fixation of a given stage of sex development. Children supposedly pass through various sex stages, the pregenital, the asexual, the homosexual, to the heterosexual. Because of given circumstances the homosexual phase may be fixated. Others believe that active homosexuality is formed during infancy, and incomplete homosexuality, that is, tendencies toward homosexuality but without overt sexual activities, is formed during puberty. The majority of psychiatrists and psychologists believe, however, that homosexuality is nearly always formed on the basis of sex conflicts and has its beginning in an abnormal affectional attachment to the parent of the opposite sex.

It has been shown that the degree of overt homosexual behavior is unrelated to the time of the acquisition of the sex abnormality. The theory that homosexual individuals are "born" has very few facts to corroborate it except the fairly frequent findings of "feminine" characteristics in the male and "masculine" characteristics in the female. Many psychiatrists like Meyer, and Hesnard, have shown, however, that in general there is no physical difference between the homosexual and the heterosexual. The supposedly distinctive features of the homosexual are frequently based upon differences in gestures and mannerisms, rather than upon structural or physiological differences.

The theory that homosexuality is merely a peculiar form of neurosis, a theory advanced by Schwarz, Hirschfield, and others, has not been corroborated by many psychiatrists unless one is willing to assume that a diagnosis of a neurosis can be made in terms of specific conflicts.

Homosexuals generally pass through a period of concern, anxiety, and a sense of guilt before they are able to accept their behavior without protest and without the need for defense. The homosexual, after his initial overt sex experience, may develop a sense of guilt and anxiety for fear that his family or acquaintances will discover his behavior. In most cases, also, the homosexual at first considers his behavior as somewhat abnormal. In time, however, he begins to differentiate himself from his heterosexual friends and learns to accept his homosexuality as a form of behavior different from the ordinary but not as abnormal. His anxieties and other temporary neurotic manifestations slowly disappear. Whatever neurotic attitudes he may have had towards his behavior are frequently replaced by compensatory reactions and beliefs which tend to justify his behavior as worthwhile. Young homosexuals point out that homosexuals are more intelligent and more interesting than the average heterosexually adjusted individual. Group interests of homosexuals often revolve about discussion of the boredom of existence of heterosexual persons.

A number of writers believe that many homosexuals are bi-sexual. Schilder,[6] for example, states that the differences between the normal and the homosexual individual are quantitative rather than qualitative. It is obvious, however, that the degree of homosexuality of an individual is not accidentally determined, although it has been observed that many initial homosexual experiences are accidental in origin.

The genesis of homosexuality on the basis of an undue affectional and erotic attachment to the parent of the opposite sex has been emphasized by some writers.[7] Freud [8] has shown that the boy "chooses as his first sexual object the same person who has satisfied his early nonsexual needs." During puberty there is normally a transfer of affection from the mother to other female persons, because the erotic love of the mother can no longer continue consciously. According to Freud the homosexual represses his love for his mother by identifying himself with her. Thus, by repressing his love for her, he remains faithful to her. His affectional attachment to boys is really an avoidance of women who might cause him to become faithless to his mother. A similar attachment of girls for their fathers is considered to be the basis of homosexuality in girls.

The homosexual is thus unable to make an adequate sexual adjustment to the opposite sex. Indeed, even casual relationships are often impossible since the opposite sex becomes somewhat repugnant to the homosexual. Male homosexuals frequently complain that women are too aggressive and that they make many sex advances towards men. Young male homosexuals frequently attempt to prove their ability to have sex relations with women by visiting prostitutes. In most instances they find themselves impotent. They choose prostitutes because they find them less repugnant than other women. The average woman is symbolically a competitor of the mother, whereas the prostitute is far removed from the mother in terms of morality and social position.

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[6] Paul Schilder, On homosexuality, Psychoanalytic review, 1929, 16, 377–389.

[7] Irene Sherman and Mandel Sherman, The factor of parental attachment in homosexuality, Psychoanalytic review, 13, 1926, 32–37.

[8] Sigmund Freud, Group psychology and the analysis of the ego, The International Psycho-Analytical Press, London, 1922, 60–61.

The following case summaries are given to illustrate the psychogenic role of conflict in the development of atypical behavior.

In the case of a girl of twenty, behavior problems were observed by her parents at an early age. She was born in a small Illinois town and lived there for twelve years. Her father, a salesman, was away from home a good deal of the time. As a child she was not ill frequently and seemed to get along well except for minor misbehavior. She liked to play with children but often got into trouble because of fighting. Some of the neighbors described her as a nuisance. She was known as a "tom-boy." She had heard her mother describe her as a child who needed a great deal of discipline. Her mother, however, rarely disciplined her, and left the punishment to the father. The patient remembers that she always had resented her mother, blaming her for instigating the punishment.

The patient stated that her mother always accused her of being jealous of her brother. She disclaims having been jealous of her brother until she was about ten when she noticed clearly that her mother was closely attached to him. She stated that her mother always went out of her way to see that he was comfortable at the expense of the others of the household. He always had more spending money than she and was sent on various trips.

As a result of her belief that she was mistreated by her mother the patient believed that she was different from everyone else and began to shun her playmates. She thought that she observed her mother looking at her in a strange way and trying to be kind to her, yet somewhat indifferent. At the age of eleven she found a letter which her mother was sending to her uncle. In it the mother complained of her, said that she was different from other children and wondered about the ultimate consequences of her behavior. When she read the letter she was sure that she was different from others and that this difference could be observed. She scrutinized the expression of people with whom she conversed to see whether they recognized that she was deficient or queer. When she first came for psychiatric aid she believed that her childhood illnesses had left a permanent mark upon her, and she also believed that strangers looked at her closely and recognized her deficiency. She stated that at times she realized clearly that her worries might not be due to this attitude, and that she tried to think of other problems, but nearly always returned to the thought of physical or mental deficiency. Thus she remained with the problem unsolved but with a vague realization and uneasiness that she was different from what she would have been but for the events of her early childhood.

When she entered high school she was known as a child who refused to follow directions, and she believed that her parents and friends expected her to make a poor record. She was eager to show her mother that she was as bright as other children. At this time her antagonism to her mother became intense, and she resented her directions and advice. She had no open quarrels with her mother but avoided her as much as possible.

Punishment by the parents ceased almost entirely when the patient entered high school. When she had some problems to discuss she rarely confided to her mother but instead appealed to her father. She remembered her father as having been stolid and interested mainly in his business. Nevertheless, he paid more attention to her than her mother did, and she was always stimulated by talking to him even if he only said a few words to her. It was at this time that she enlarged upon her father's virtues, and he began to be one of the foremost subjects of discussion with others. When her mother was in the same room with her father she felt somewhat jealous and refrained from talking with him on those occasions.

The patient came to believe that her mother also was jealous of her. For example, whenever she attempted to discuss some problem with her father, her mother began a discussion of her brother, enlarging upon his fine appearance, his talents, or his intelligence. She felt that her mother was making unfavorable comparisons between her and her brother. Her brother was a well-behaved boy with no outstanding difficulties and her mother always reminded her of the difference between them.

At the age of seventeen the patient entered college. Here she felt much better adjusted, principally, she believed, because she lived away from home. She selected another freshman to room with and they became exceedingly fond of each other. They were constantly with each other on the campus and this caused a good deal of gossip. Neither of them paid attention to this gossip although they felt uncomfortable. Instead of going to the usual college social affairs they remained in their room. After one year the room-mate left town and the patient saw her only three times after that. She missed her for a time but gradually forgot her. In high school she had had "crushes" on women teachers but she believed that they were of the usual kind and passed from one teacher to another. Except for one young man to whom she became engaged, and then broke the engagement after a few months, she was not interested in any man. She liked them better than some girls or women, liked to talk to them and dance with them, but became disgusted with them if they made any advances.

The mother's story verified most of the statements of the girl and in addition gave further evidence of her attachment to the father. The mother believed that her daughter was jealous of her because of the father. The patient told her not to put her arms around her and also chided her for being too familiar with her father. The patient frequently telephoned to the father to meet her for dinner. They often stayed away two or three evenings a week.

Further evidence of the relationship between parental attachment and the emergence of homosexual behavior is seen in the behavior of a young man of twenty-three. The mother stated that he was irritable and argumentative and did not seem to be able to get along with his father. For some time there had been a good deal of tension in the home, principally because of the antagonism between the father and the boy. The mother believed that the father was jealous of the attention she paid to the patient.

As a child the patient refused to take part in the activities of other boys, preferring to stay in the house and to busy himself with the affairs of his mother. The parents were worried about him because he liked to dress in girls' clothes and parade before a mirror. An attempt was made to interest him in "masculine" activities such as riding a bicycle and playing baseball, but the boy refused to be interested in such activities.

With increasing age the parents noticed that the boy became more "feminine" in his behavior. On many occasions he was observed dressed in some of his mother's clothes, walking to and fro in front of a full-size mirror. When he was chided for his behavior, he at first appeared to be ashamed, but later paid little attention to the attitudes of the family. He also was careful about his appearance, spending a great deal of time manicuring his fingernails and combing his hair. The father was very much disappointed in his effeminate behavior and employed a university student to supervise his recreation. The boy could not be interested in the play activities of other boys, however. The mother was not in favor of this plan and later stated that the father disliked both the boy and her because of their differences regarding his training.

At the time of the examination the patient was well developed and of good appearance. He appeared somewhat "effeminate," with a number of mannerisms, rather "loud" clothes, and immaculate personal appearance. He was a commercial artist, very much attached to his work. He admitted frankly a number of problems, chief of which were his attitude toward girls and his dislike of his father. He stated that for some time he had realized that his attitude toward women was wrong and he believed that there was something about him "which sounds like perversion." Other men had told him that there was something wrong with him. He had never been affectionately attached to a woman, but it was very easy for him to fall in love with a man, provided he was of "high type." "I cannot imagine myself falling in love with a woman. I sometimes daydream about certain men I have met, but never about a girl. In fact, girls bore me and I cannot understand how some of the fellows enjoy telling dirty stories about women." He told of the following incidents but insisted that some of the experiences were not of his own making.

When he was sixteen he became friendly with one of the other school boys of his own age. They liked each other and were inseparable companions. Some three months after their acquaintance the other boy proposed that they go to a nearby town and stay together at a hotel. He had known a number of girls but after his friendship began with this boy he rarely was in the company of a girl. He stated that he could never get himself to "neck" with the girls and expressed disdain for the other boys who expressed pleasure in such behavior.

The patient stated that he was aware of his problem but that he could not help feeling the way he did. He added that when he met a good-looking, intelligent man, he felt "warmed up" as he never did with a woman. "My feeling towards men is so different from my feeling towards girls."

The patient substantiated his mother's story about his dislike of his father and his attachment to her. He stated that at times he could not endure to be in the same room with his father. He believed that his jealousy of his sister drew him to his mother, and that his mother, in turn, became attached to him because she was becoming alienated from his father.

In some instances homosexual behavior of the overt type does not arise until some critical action must be taken in regard to a heterosexual adjustment. Some individuals consciously or unconsciously inhibit their homosexual tendencies until some environmental or personal condition forces them to some need for a decision. They at first negate their homosexual desires and attempt to adjust heterosexually. The increasing conflict regarding their inability to adjust heterosexually frequently is the motivating stimulus to homosexual acts.

PERSECUTORY ATTITUDES

A LARGE number of homosexually "inclined" individuals exist, that is, individuals who are essentially homosexual but who may not have had homosexual experiences. These individuals have many mental conflicts probably due to their inability to express their desires overtly either because of lack of opportunity or because of their conflicts regarding their desires. Frequently, such individuals tend to be paranoid in their attitudes. Indeed, some psychiatrists claim that paranoid delusions arise out of homosexual trends or, at least, are associated with homosexuality. Those homosexuals who express their desires without personal or environmental thwarting generally do not develop paranoid delusions. Those who, for one reason or another, negate their desires may develop ideas of persecution. According to this theory this type of person attempts to negate his love of men (if they are male homosexuals) by "I hate him" instead of "I love him." But since a negative idea cannot be entertained in the unconscious, it is turned to "He hates me." Thus he begins to defend himself against the supposed hate of others, and becomes justified in his paranoid reactions. This theory further states that the paranoid reactions are therefore in part a defense against the guilt of the homosexual ideas, the original guilt being distorted as a projection of persecution.

The intensity of paranoid attitudes differs greatly among various individuals. Some are frankly paranoid, showing systematized delusions with significant social and personal disorientation. Others do not become socially disorganized, but are recognized as paranoid by their suspiciousness and their inability to assume blame and responsibility. They are on the alert for criticism, are somewhat aloof yet intensely interested in current events and in the people in their immediate surroundings. They are argumentative and attempt to dominate those with whom they come in contact, especially if they have some authority over them.

In a series of twenty cases which were studied, it was found that each individual showed a personality pattern typical of the group. None of these individuals had had overt homosexual experiences, but all showed an inability to adjust adequately to persons of the opposite sex. The most significant personality characteristic was a persecutory attitude which was not sufficiently systematized to cause social disorganization. The persecutory attitudes did result, however, in many minor difficulties which made these individuals difficult to get along with and which caused them in turn to project their difficulties upon others.

The following is a summary of the attitudes and behavior of these twenty male patients :

1. Early attachment to the mother and either indifference or hostility to the father.
2. An intense curiosity about sex during the elementary school age, with an accompanying guilt feeling.
3. Seclusiveness during the adolescent period with an inability to participate in the types of social activities usually observed among high school students.
4. The beginning of intense attachments to persons of the same sex at approximately the age of eighteen. The persons to whom they became attached were physically superior.
5. Frequent but temporary attachments to women. In a number of cases the women were physically frail.
6. The development of an anxiety condition on the basis of a sense of guilt regarding sex, although in five of the twenty patients no sex experiences were reported previous to marriage and in two of the unmarried individuals no actual sex experiences were reported.
7. A suspicious and persecutory attitude towards relatives and acquaintances.

The following is a brief history of the behavior of a young man of twenty-six which illustrates the genesis and mechanism of this type of homosexual behavior. He sought psychiatric aid because of an anxiety condition which was made especially difficult for him by frequent periods of panic. During these periods he was unable to sleep, his appetite was disturbed, he was irritable, and was unable to concentrate upon his work. He was fearful of some internal physical disorder and projected all sorts of grave possibilities into the immediate future. Among other findings it was discovered that he had been closely attached to his mother since the time he could remember and was at present also concerned with the attitudes and reactions of his mother. Because his work had taken him away from home he was unable to be with his mother but took every pretext to make an extended trip home. His frequent gastric disturbances were probably unconscious efforts at solving his dependence upon his mother because at these times he went home. He reported that all his problems cleared up as soon as he was home. He could not understand why this was so and thought it was the good care he had there that cured him on those occasions. As a youth he had few friends and preferred to read and study at home rather than to take part in social activities. When he left home to go to college he first developed the illness and the anxiety condition which gradually became intensified. During the first six months at college his nostalgia was so intense that he frequently was on the verge of taking a train home. At the end of the first semester he became acquainted with another freshman who also seemed to be lonesome. This young man was a large, well-developed individual over six feet tall and weighing over two hundred pounds, whereas the patient was rather short and weighed less than 140. Their acquaintance soon ripened into a close friendship. Neither of them knew any girls and neither took part in the usual social activities. They frequently went to visit various parts of the city which were considered "slummy" areas. The patient especially remembers his pride in his friendship with this young man, interpreting his reaction as a feeling that no harm could come to him when in the company of a husky fellow like his friend.

When the patient left college and took a position in an industrial plant, he identified himself first with one person and then with another, each one of whom apparently symbolized to him some power, either physical or mental. When he was twenty-five, he married a small, frail, young woman, who apparently was subjugated to his ideas and attitudes. Some six months following the marriage many difficulties arose between them, especially because of sex incompatibility. The patient also accused his wife of disliking his own mother and of being indifferent to him. He also had many periods of jealousy because he suspected unfaithfulness. (This was probably an unconscious reaction to his own feelings of impotence and lack of sex desire.) He had many phantasies of being married to other women, imagining the type of woman who resembled his mother. Before his marriage, he had had many "crushes" on women a great deal older than he, and he stated during one interview that he married only because everyone else had and he thought it was the right thing to do.

The patient's wife reported that he was argumentative, irritable, and suspicious. He frequently complained to her that he was not getting the "breaks" he deserved. His persecutory attitudes were not consistently directed towards any one person but shifted from one to another. At one time he believed that his brother-in-law and his wife were conspiring against him and he forbade his wife to see her brother. On another occasion he was intensely concerned because he believed that one of his co-workers was giving his employer false notions about him. He was constantly anxious about the motives of his friends and frequently accused them of "double-crossing" him.

SECONDARY SEXUAL MALADJUSTMENT

SECONDARY conflicts often arise because the homosexual individual recognizes the social problems which homosexuality involves. Although the homosexual person may not believe that his behavior is abnormal, his need for justifying himself in view of the attitudes of society causes secondary conflicts to arise. Thus, many conflicts of insecurity and inferiority may develop. The individual, sensing the attitudes of society towards his homosexual behavior, attempts to explain his inferior status by a belief that some abnormality other than his homosexuality is the basis of his ostracism.

As mentioned previously, not all homosexual behavior arises out of specific sex conflicts. Many instances of homosexuality are observed in which the behavior arises accidentally. The individual may be coerced into a homosexual act by an active homosexual, and thereafter continue in such activities, mainly in a passive role. Usually he has only infrequent experiences. The question naturally arises regarding the attitudes of such a person. Some psychopathology probably exists, else the individual would be repelled by the advances of the active homosexual.

The following experience of a thirty-year-old unmarried man illustrates the role of "accidental" homosexuality. This man was of good intelligence, a college graduate, employed as a minor executive. He was the only boy in the family, the oldest of four children. His father died when he was ten years old. After his father's death the boy assumed a domineering attitude towards the other children, and in part towards his mother. The interdependence between him and his mother was not broken even after he was graduated from college and began to work. His mother still gave him advice regarding his business and social affairs, and he in turn was very solicitous of her welfare.

The homosexual affair which he related occurred when he was twenty-nine. (He had never had heterosexual relationships.) He did not "exactly like the experiences" but did not object. In this case the man cannot be called a homosexual, but his reaction to the homosexual advances of his friend probably has significance. In accordance with the theories of some psychiatrists, he may, perhaps, be considered a "latent homosexual" whose specific homosexual acts are dependent upon accidental circumstances.

Homosexual behavior often results from given environmental conditions. It is a common occurrence in jails and boys' or girls' schools. The confinement within a prison and the impossibility of heterosexual activities result in homosexual acts, probably unrelated to primary sex conflicts.

Some cases of passive homosexuality have been reported in which the basis was an inability to assume heterosexual relationships due to conflicts other than sex. The individual who has a deep sense of inferiority may be unable to make friendships with members of the opposite sex. He finds it much easier to develop friendships with the same sex. These friendships may assume a homosexual significance in the process of the development of more and more intimate relationships. Such an explanation may well be interpreted as a rationalization, that is, the individual's difficulty with friendships with the opposite sex may be his way of rationalizing his homosexuality.

CHAPTER VI

CONFLICTS AND NEUROSES

THE CONFLICTS OF THE NEUROTIC PERSON

A NUMBER of important differences are found between the conflicts of the well-adjusted person and those of the neurotic. The conflicts of the adjusted individual generally do not involve issues which greatly influence his everyday behavior. As an example, a person may have conflicts regarding some member of his family, some friend, or acquaintance. These conflicts may give him many unpleasant moments, but they arise only when he comes in contact with these persons or when some experience recalls them to his memory. His security and integrity are not seriously threatened by these conflicts, and thus his behavior is not ordinarily changed by them. The normal person may have persistent conflicts but he is able to resolve them in well-ordered behavior. Indeed, some psychiatrists believe that all strongly motivated and systematized activities result from conflicts.

The conflicts of the neurotic person often act as distracting forces. The result may be uncoordinated behavior which interferes with the required routine of every-day behavior. The conflicts are well systematized and are generally repressed. These systematized repressions cause emotional unbalance and give rise to the variety of symptoms which are found in the neurotic person.

The normal person may have isolated neurotic symptoms; he may have occasional headaches, or stomach upsets, or dizziness. These functional symptoms are unconsciously designed to adjust him to the *immediate* problem confronting him. Nearly everyone has had the experience of developing a headache or great fatigue when he wished to evade an unpleasant situation. Children frequently have stomach upsets as a way of avoiding school. The normal person may also use phantasy, various identifications, compensatory behavior, or a variety of evasions. Because the conflicts of the normal person are not as systematically repressed as those of the neurotic, the symptoms or mechanisms of adjustment are not as systematized. He can discard or inhibit them relatively easily.

The conflicts of the neurotic individual, on the other hand, having been systematically and deeply repressed, finally manifest themselves in relatively consistent symptoms. The symptoms are systematized into a definite mechanism of adjustment which varies only slightly from time to time. In consequence, the symptoms of the neurotic individual cannot be easily eradicated. The neurotic individual unconsciously maintains his symptoms. Indeed, he must do so in order to maintain his mechanism of adjustment to his conflicts. He cannot give up his symptoms because the emotional tensions of his conflicts then reappear.

Soldiers who suffered from "shell-shock" illustrate the mechanism of the systematic maintenance of symptoms as an unconscious way of solving conflicts and as a way also of avoiding a return to the emotional discomfort of these conflicts. The conflicts of these neurotic soldiers often began long before they were exposed to the rigors and fears of actual battle. In many cases their conflicts began when they first had to decide between enlistment in the army and staying at home. If they failed to enlist early during the war they were exposed to the community attitude that they were cowards and "slackers." On the other hand, they had strong fears of the hardships and bodily injuries to which they were sure to be exposed. When they finally enlisted or were drafted, their emotional tensions increased. Under ordinary camp routine they showed little or no neurotic disorder. But when they anticipated war action or when actually exposed to battle they developed the acute neurotic symptoms known during the war as "shell-shock." The disabling symptoms varied widely among the "shell-shock" cases. Some soldiers had paralysis of arms or legs, others were blind or deaf. These soldiers were naturally removed from the war zone to a hospital. Thus they were removed from the dangers which they had so violently feared. They were now no "slackers"; indeed they were no ordinary soldiers now. Not only were they in active warfare, but they also "sacrificed" themselves physically. Their shame because of their sense of guilt was now removed.

The original conflicts of these soldiers were not solved, however. Their conflicts were only repressed still further. The soldiers were unconsciously prevented from discarding their symptoms by these repressions, since a return to a normal physical condition would cause a return of the emotional tension related to these conflicts. And because of these repressions many of the soldiers with "shell-shock" maintained their neurotic symptoms long after the close of the war, although a large number were "miraculously cured" immediately upon the announcement of the armistice.

The conflicts of the neurotic person are often so deeply buried that it is frequently impossible to recognize them even by the most painstaking psychiatric or psychological analysis. The maladjustments which these conflicts bring about in turn often result in the development of further conflicts. As an example, a person who has conflicts of inferiority may isolate himself socially as a defense against recognition of his supposed defects. His social isolation may in turn result in further conflict, since now his inferiority is further emphasized. His new conflicts regarding his inability to make friends also intensify his discomfort. Secondary conflicts are more easily recognized during psychiatric investigations and are therefore often defined as the causative conflicts. Treatment is consequently directed at these secondary conflicts and when solved results either in partial improvement or only in temporary alleviation of the symptoms.

Because of the frequent emphasis upon secondary conflicts and their external manifestations the repressed motivating conflicts are allowed to go on without solution. The result is that very few neurotic individuals are completely cured. Clinical experience has shown that a neurotic individual goes from one physician to another, partly, of course, to escape cure, since, as we shall see later, the neurotic person does not wish to give up his symptoms.

The mechanism of escape frequently takes the form of the patient's insistence upon discussion of the overt symptoms or of the secondary conflicts. If the patient complains of excessive fatigue he insists on rediscussing the matter on every occasion, elaborating on every characteristic of the fatigue. If the therapist directs the conversation to some deeper problems he resists. He reverts immediately to his symptoms, often complaining that the therapist does not have all of the information. When he returns for another period of therapy he may begin the discussion by retelling the original story, attempting to impress the therapist with the seriousness of his present symptoms. When the individual discovers that he must go deeper into his problems, his resistance may show itself in a number of other ways. On occasions, the symptoms may disappear so that the patient believes that he no longer needs to return for further treatment. Thus many psychiatrists have observed that when a patient's symptoms disappear very quickly, it is a sign that he merely wishes to escape being rid of his real conflicts. In other instances the symptoms may become exaggerated after the first few periods of therapy. The patient then states that he has become worse and decides to go to another physician. In still other instances the patient suddenly desires to go on some long trip or to take a vacation. This, of course, is another form of escape. It is only after this resistance to cure is dissipated that the deeper conflicts can be approached.

THE MECHANISM OF THE NEUROSES

The behavior of the neurotic individual is the result of his unconscious attempts to solve his conflicts. His reactions are "healing responses," that is, they are patterns of activity which are (unconsciously) developed as a means of decreasing the emotional tensions resulting from the continual repression of his conflicts.

Neurotic behavior represents a defensive flight from the frustrations of reality into the symptoms of disease. The given symptoms in turn frequently unconsciously serve as a justification for an inability to face reality.

The illness serves as a justification of the real or imagined failure or of the anticipation of failure. The neurotic patient is also able to obtain sympathy and protection from his friends without consciously giving up his independence. His illness thus represents a regression to a less mature level of behavior, that is, behavior which does not involve adult problems and frustrations. Consciously it is impossible to return to an "infantile" state during which one obtains complete protection from environmental difficulties and during which one may refer his problems to adults. The neurotic person therefore symbolically assumes an immature relationship to others through the formation of symptoms which cause him to be helpless and therefore necessitate the sympathy and protection which he ordinarily would not obtain. The illness also tends to distract him from (and absolve him of blame for) his real or supposed failures because he now has problems which overshadow all others. He now is concerned with illness which claims his complete attention. For this reason the neurotic seeks corroboration of his illness and is dissatisfied when the physician informs him that his symptoms are of psychological origin.

The neurotic attempts to impress himself as well as others with the reality and the seriousness of his illness. The universal tendency to avoid an implication that disease symptoms may be due to psychological reasons is partially due to the prevailing viewpoint that every individual shall be held responsible for his behavior. As a result, no one is willing to assume that his behavior may be the result of his own psychological make-up. The tendency is therefore to seek an explanation in terms of physical disease which not only absolves one of guilt but also universally provokes sympathy.

Every neurotic person believes that he has failed in the attainment of some vital goal or that he has some defect which will make failure inevitable. It is of course not definitive of the neurotic to believe or anticipate failure since every individual is concerned with the problem of success and failure. Because every individual is constantly stimulated to success from early childhood onward, it is not surprising to find many persons anxious about their success. The anxieties of the well-adjusted person arise relatively infrequently and last a short time. But the anxiety of the neurotic person about success is a constant feature of his personality. Like the emotionally immature person, the neurotic individual attempts to evaluate the meaning of "life" and his relationships to others. He is especially concerned with the meaning of the environment and is extremely self-evaluative, as we shall see later.

McDougall's[1] viewpoint is that all functional disorders are purposive, although the purposiveness of the behavior may be obscure to the patient so that he is unable to understand the basis of his actions. If the conflicts are repressed and the individual is unaware of his problems, it might be inferred that the "flight into illness" which most neurotics achieve is the result of a dissociative process due to the internal conflicts. The symptoms may therefore be the result of the dynamic activity of the repressions and are not in themselves purposive. In that sense, therefore, the "flight into illness" is a result of the conflicting motives and emotional tension resulting from repression.

The statements by several authors, including McDougall, that a neurotic disorder manifests a disintegration of the personality pattern, must be evaluated in terms of an end-result rather than as a basic characteristic of the neurotic individual. Yet McDougall and others believe that the neurotic individual lacks proper personality integration and that under the influence of repressed conflicts a relatively disorganized pattern of personality manifests itself as neurotic characteristics. The external behavior of the neurotic individual which usually causes further maladjustment is, according to Bleuler [2] and others, due to the overemphasis by the patient on forms of adjustmental behavior which are generally manifested in others as well as in the neurotic individual. The reason for the maladjustment is the overintensity of the reactions and not the abnormality of the behavior. Because the behavior does not solve the individual's conflicts he is forced into still further manifestations.

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[1] William McDougall, Outline of abnormal psychology, 1926, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 30–56.

The attention, sympathy, and recognition that the individual obtains from others as a reaction to his symptoms are not effective in solving his conflicts. The commotion which the neurotic individual creates is probably one of the ways through which he can escape from his problems.[3] If he cannot create turmoil in other persons, the neurotic still gains an advantage from his own confusion, that is, the illness itself is an evasion of facing his real problems.

The attempts of the neurotic patient to get well and at the same time to retain his symptoms indicate a confusion regarding his decision to act in one way or another. According to McDougall this confusion is due to a lack of personality integration, but according to other observ-

[2] Eugen Bleuler, Textbook of psychiatry, 1924, New York, The Macmillan Co., pp. 635.

[3] Israel S. Wechsler, The neuroses, 1929, Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders Co., p. 116.

ers the contradictory behavior of the neurotic is due to his confusion regarding his desires. His doubts regarding his own integrity and his status and the pressure of his sense of guilt cause him to strike out blindly; thus he vacillates between an intense desire to get well and an equally intense (but unconscious) attempt to be ill. Thus also he has periods of depression and elation, periods of self-pity and self-confidence, periods of hopefulness and hopelessness. The neurotic individual is unable to maintain a hopeful attitude because he is thus exposed to the frustrations and problems from which he originally attempted to escape. In consequence there is retreat into illness after a short period of well-being. Often because the others in his environment do not share his attitudes towards his illness, the symptoms continue and often are intensified, partly in order to punish the other persons. The illness frequently causes anxiety and inconvenience to the other members of the household, a condition which the patient could not otherwise effect.

Neurotic behavior, in the psychoanalytic sense, is due to the deeply buried "complexes" which cannot easily reach awareness. These "complexes" are in conflict with conscious tendencies, that is, they are in conflict with principles of reality. Neurotic behavior is considered to be generally due to conflicts between unconscious ideas rather than between unconscious and conscious ideas and attitudes. When opposing ideas cannot free themselves from the conflict, the individual thus lives in a struggle of confusion and therefore develops doubts and anxieties. Because direct activity without anxiety is impossible, irrelevant behavior may result. The importance of this struggle within the unconscious is enhanced by the incompatibility of the unconscious ideas or thoughts which are strongly toned emotionally and which need some form of expression. Therefore, the longer these unconscious tendencies are deterred from expressing themselves, the more internal upheaval there is and the more likely that neurotic behavior will result.[4]

Psychoanalysts emphasize the dissociative effect of repressed conflicts. Through the process of dissociation the emotional meaning of a repressed idea can become detached, and then attach itself to another idea. In this way the unpleasantness of a conflict is sometimes decreased. This is especially important in the maintenance of balance in the individual who finds difficulty in expressing given ideas which are painful to him. In this way the patient can release emotional energy in ideas which appear to be of minor significance but which are in reality vehicles to which the emotional energy of very unpleasant and important ideas has been displaced. The process of dissociation also allows opposing ideas to exist without much conflict.

Varying degrees of dissociation are found, of course, not only in the neurotic individual but are also seen (in an exceedingly mild form) in the everyday life of the normal person. Complete integration of personality is impossible in a competitive, complex society where varying types of adjustment must be made quickly. Through the dissociative mechanism one can believe in ideas which are incompatible with other ideas. The geologist who writes about the millions of years that it has taken for the formation of given layers of the earth, can, without conflict, believe in the creation of the world in six days. And the chemist who has achieved a reputation for scientific integrity may be able to speak freely and without conflict regarding his belief that no real scientific cause and effect relationship exists but that things happen because of a "higher" power.

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[4] Israel S. Wechsler, The neuroses, 1929, Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders Co., pp. 330.

The dissociation that is observed in some neurotic person may also result in the attachment of emotional energy to bodily organs. The disturbance of bodily functions therefore serves as a way out of an unsatisfactory activity. The individual thus can escape an unpleasant activity by justifying his behavior in terms of his illness and also by directing all his energy toward the illness. In psychoanalytic language, the neurotic becomes sick because the ego ideal frustrates the gratification of his wishes.

In general, according to psychoanalysts, neurotic symptoms are defenses against libidinal demands. If the libidinal desires become detached, anxiety results. The individual thereafter attempts to discover the basis of his anxiety and attaches it to irrelevant and incidental experiences or problems. He is thus not only unwilling to define his anxieties from the standpoint of their true etiology but is also unable to identify the repressed ideas.

THE OVERT BEHAVIOR OF THE NEUROTIC

NEUROTIC conditions produce greatly variant overt behavior. Some neurotic persons behave normally in their usual social activities but show many signs of their neurosis in their homes. Such individuals can indefinitely inhibit their symptoms so that they cannot be recognized by casual acquaintances. In other individuals the symptoms for which they seek psychiatric aid appear to be only indirectly related to their original conflicts. Through a long process of modification and distortion the person presents only vestigial symptoms of the basic difficulties.

(In many cases the individuals present irrelevant symptoms in order to mislead the psychiatrist. This is done as a defense against the recognition of their conflicts.) The failure of the neurotic person to recognize his problems (and his unconscious defenses against recognition of them) in addition to the distortion of the symptoms presents great difficulties to the psychiatrist.

The effect of inhibition and distortion as mechanisms of adjustment was illustrated by the behavior of a man of thirty whose real problems were disclosed only after a long period of investigation. His chief complaints were of his inability to concentrate and his restlessness. Among the other difficulties he enumerated were his inability to make friends, his inability to feel at ease in social gatherings when a large number of people were present, and his uneasiness in crowds. As an example of his behavior, he had been avoiding the downtown section because he felt extremely uneasy in crowds. For the past year he had declined numerous invitations to social groups with the excuse that he was busy with his work. Actually, however, he did very little work because he was constantly involved in introspective evaluations of his condition.

This patient's difficulties had their origin partly in an intense identification with his father and the conflict which he later developed related to his inability to attain the ideals which he had read into this identification. His father was a physician and influenced him to study medicine. He failed in his first year. As a result of his failure the mechanism of projection developed in which he suspected that others were very critical of him and pointed out flaws which he himself felt. In turn, he became overcritical of others and frequently quarreled with his friends. His irritability and quarrelsomeness caused him to lose several jobs. In time his ability to concentrate upon a task decreased and his work became inferior.

This man's inability to concentrate, his restlessness, and his quarrelsomeness were probably the results of his basic conflicts of frustration. He had never been able to accept his failure in school, and secondarily projected blame upon society. In the psychiatric therapy he consistently withheld his original problems, and it was only after a long period of treatment that the underlying conflicts were brought to the surface. It was discovered that his uneasiness in crowds or in large groups was due to his deep-seated fears that his failures would be discovered. When these mechanisms were recognized by him and when he emotionally relived his previous difficulties through verbalization, his emotional tensions decreased. He was then more able to accept himself without the previous feelings of guilt and blame.

Many persons are able to adjust to serious mental conflicts by redirecting their interests and energies. Despite many underlying difficulties and conflicts they may have only few neurotic characteristics. They are able to make compromises with their previous frustrations.

The compromises that occur in adults (known in psychoanalysis as compromise formation) do not occur as frequently in children. Adults often find outlets for their conflicts in ways which are socially desirable and which decrease the tension of their conflicts. Children frequently also find emotional outlets for their conflicts but their behavior often leads to social difficulties because they are not as yet capable of making rational compromises. Children often do not understand the limitations within which behavior is socially approved. The neurotic adult frequently partially solves his major conflicts by various identifications which are impossible for the child. The identifications of the child are frequently limited either to the prestige attained through some personal possession or through emotional identification with some adults. The grown-up has many more outlets in his identifications. Thus he is able to identify himself with his contemporaries or with political causes or with a host of other intellectual and emotional issues which are of current importance. Individuals whose conflicts and consequent neurotic symptoms are based upon frustration of ideals and a feeling of incompetency in attainment are at times quick to turn to an emotionally toned appeal for betterment of their political conditions.

Some observers have noticed that in many cases an inverse relationship exists between the frequency of the symptoms of the neurotic individual and the seriousness of the neurotic pattern. The intensity of a neurosis is in part a function of the patterning of the individual's behavior around a specific group of symptoms. As we have already seen, isolated neurotic symptoms are frequently observed in the adjusted person. An individual may for a time be unable to sleep well or he may have somatic symptoms or he may have given fears. His condition cannot be defined in terms of a neurosis because the symptoms not only shift frequently but also are not sufficiently systematized to result in a patterning of his personality characteristics in terms of an adjustment to those symptoms. In the neurotic individual, however, not only are the symptoms relatively constant but they also result in personality patterns which are aimed at adjustment in terms of an orientation to the symptoms. Consequently in many cases the pattern of personality becomes systematized around a few symptoms.

In neurotic persons who have a large number of symptoms the pattern of personality does not have an opportunity to become constant or systematized. Consequently therapeutic measures frequently have a greater chance of being successful in the individual with many symptoms than in an individual with few but fixated symptoms.

An individual with a given somatic symptom, for example, is likely to fixate his entire adjustmental behavior in terms of the single symptom. It is therefore extremely difficult for him to discard that symptom because, as it were, his entire neurosis is "concentrated" in that symptom.

It is impossible in the present state of knowledge to compare the symptomatology of the neurotic with that of the psychotic individual especially because we do not know the role of mental conflicts in the non-organic psychoses. Nevertheless, significant differences have been observed. The neurotic individual, for example, takes part in a great deal of mental activity ; he is in a turmoil, so to speak, about his symptoms and his "feelings." He attempts to explain his difficulties, his failures, and his well-being on the basis of one or more symptoms. He is much more active mentally than the psychotic individual, although the psychotic person very often gives the impression, at least at first, of great mental activity. As an example, the manic (of the manic-depressive psychotic) gives the impression of great mental activity, whereas he may be "passive" internally. His activity, both physical and mental, probably approaches the type observed in compulsive behavior. The manic individual is really not as much concerned with external problems as he appears to be. The neurotic individual, on the other hand, is very much concerned with social relationships and the effect of social attitudes. Although he may appear to be withdrawn and introvertive, he is constantly on the alert for the effect of his behavior upon others. Thus, as we have already seen, the neurotic person is alert to criticism, is constantly comparing his own status with that of others, is sensitive to his accomplishments, and is easily hurt and upset by trivial conditions. The psychotic individual, on the contrary, is often unconcerned about the criticism of others and probably assumes an attitude toward his status which nothing in the environment can change for him. Therefore, psychological treatment is often of little avail because he has already solved his conflicts (on the assumption that conflicts do play an important role) through the fixation of his beliefs and attitudes. Although the neurotic individual shows great resistance to the solution of his conflicts and to the reorientation of his symptomatology, the fact that he has not as yet completely and finally solved his conflicts allows the therapist to make some progress.

The difference between the psychological therapeutic possibilities in the neurotic and psychotic individual has also been ascribed to the difference in the degree of dissociation. As we have seen previously, a good deal of dissociative activity goes on in the neurotic person but it generally does not progress to the same extent as in the psychotic person. The dissociative and regressive processes are, in a sense, in a state of flux in the neurotic person, but in the majority of psychotic individuals of the dementia praecox group a definite split of the personality exists. In accordance with the degree of dissociative and repressive processes, the individual loses his sense of identity. If one observes carefully the psychotic person, he will notice that as the mental disease becomes more intense, the individual gradually decreases his doubts of the existence of his symptoms. As has been shown by many observers, the person in the process of developing specific hallucinatory symptoms at first doubts the hallucinatory experiences and this doubt decreases until he considers them as realities. This process of projection into reality naturally differs in rapidity with different individuals. In the neurotic person the loss of identity is never as fully developed as in the psychotic person, although a great deal of turmoil may be present.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEUROTIC PERSON

Although the neurotic person develops illness in part to free himself from personal blame for his real or imagined defects or failures, he never does free himself from a sense of blame. The result is constant mental disturbance accompanied by a great deal of introspection. The relative social isolation of the neurotic person further aids the process of introspection. Thus he is rarely at ease socially or with himself. He projects his self-criticism into the attitudes of his acquaintances. He exaggerates the criticism of others, becomes sensitive about his social relationships, and frequently develops persecutory ideas.

The neurotic individual avoids new activities, partly because of his unconscious desire to isolate himself, and partly because of his fear of failure. He frequently avoids developing intimate friendships because he fears that the scrutiny which results from intimacies might disclose his inferiorities. Because of the intense feeling of inferiority, every new activity and every new individual whom he meets imply further jeopardy to his security. The feelings of inferiority and insecurity cause an intense drive towards success. Thus, every situation in which the neurotic individual finds himself is analyzed by him in terms of success or failure. Frequently the neurotic person is ill at ease and refuses to verbalize when he is with a group of people, especially with strangers, because of his conflict regarding his successes and failures. By remaining quiet, he believes that he avoids evaluation by others.

One young man of nineteen complained of his inability to make an impression upon others because he found himself unable to contribute anything to a discussion, no matter what the topic of conversation was. He was never sure of his ground, marveled at the ability of other people who expressed their opinions freely, and considered himself a deteriorating person because he could never think of the right thing to say. When he did make a statement, he immediately wondered whether it was appropriate, or whether the others approved. When he was challenged in any statement, he most frequently retracted, but on some occasions argued over trivial affairs. He looked for approbation and frequently sought assurance in roundabout ways. As in most other similar cases, this young man was constantly introspecting and evaluating his behavior. He was so intensely involved in himself, in the possible impression he was making upon others, and in a comparison between himself and others, that his verbalizations were inhibited.

As in many other similar cases his background showed overprotective parents during his childhood. Because of many illnesses during infancy and childhood he was given constant protection and was sheltered in his social activities. He developed an attitude of self-importance which he could not maintain later when he could no longer rely upon his parents. His parents had great hopes for him and overemphasized his school advancement. Although he was a good student during the elementary and high school periods, he constantly chafed at not being scholastically superior. Consequently, he developed conflicts of inferiority because of his inability to maintain in the school situation the status he had attained at home. He had great difficulty in adjusting himself during his last two years at high school and at college. The rather infantile attitudes which he had developed at home no longer served to obtain attention and approbation from his fellow-men in situations which demanded adult behavior.

The therapeutic procedure in this case involved an objective analysis of the origin of his conflicts and through this analysis a decrease in the intensity of his identification with his parents. In addition, a new orientation was reached regarding success and failure. He was able to develop new values and in time no longer required the attention and reassurance which he had so constantly obtained during his childhood. He was therefore able to objectify his failures and to externalize his interests. In time, also, he no longer evaluated his relationships to others only in terms of success or failure, partly because he no longer needed to defend himself against his supposed inferiority.

The introspective behavior resulting from feelings of inferiority and the social isolation often lead to inordinate phantasy formation. For the most part, these phantasies have the same function as those of the normal person, that is, they are wish-fulfillment mechanisms. They allow at least a temporary escape from immediate problems and thus temporarily decrease the emotional tension. Observation has shown that the neurotic person spends a great deal more time in phantasy than the normal person. An exact estimate of the relative frequencies is difficult to make. The term phantasy implies an imaginative process in which the contents are systematized into a complete story, and it is evident, therefore, that many of the fragmentary imaginative reflections of the neurotic person are not phantasies. In many cases the neurotic person reacts to frustration by introspective analysis. These analyses are not objective evaluations but are rather imaginative reflections of the meaning of given incidents involving an evaluation of immediate and future success or failure, and impending problems.

As is true with all phantasies, those of the neurotic person allow him to attain desires unattainable in everyday life. The neurotic individual's phantasies are complicated by many anxieties, however. The usual "happy ending" characteristic of the phantasies of the normal person are not as frequent. Thus wish-fulfillment is not as easily reached, and thus, too, a strong compulsion exists to repeat the phantasies. The contents of the phantasies therefore become systematized, that is, the contents reappear in similar form on numerous occasions with only minor variations of incidental material.

Much of the phantasy content is concerned with erotic material. The phantasies thus may compensate in part for many of the sex frustrations of the neurotic person. In the phantasies the individual can "take part" in sex experiences from which he experientially withdraws. Not only does he daydream about ordinary sex experiences but he also imagines many bizarre activities the very thought of which he otherwise denies. He can imaginatively attain the greatest satisfaction, may imagine many and varied sex activities. These imaginative experiences may, however, increase his sex conflicts so that he may become still more tense emotionally regarding his sex desires and activities.

The sublimation which phantasy is supposed to achieve thus rarely takes place. The intensification of the desires through the phantasy creates more anxiety. Whatever sublimation is achieved results from phantasies not directly related to sex. Phantasies involving economic achievement, or those involving attainment of prestige may at times function as sublimations. It is rather significant that the phantasies of adult neurotic patients are similar to those found among adolescents. An otherwise intelligent adult may have phantasies in which he discovers a chemical which yields him riches and fame. Or the content involves saving some royal person from drowning, with the appropriate reward and consequent success in the estimation of his friends to whom he feels inferior.

The intense introspective behavior of the neurotic person, combined with his anxieties, often leads to a feeling of self-depreciation and a sense of unworthiness. The individual believes that not only is he unable to attain his desires at the moment, but also that, because of some inherent defect, he is bound to fail in the future. In part, the moody periods which are observed in the neurotic person (and which often are designed for obtaining attention) are reactions of depression to the self-deprecatory attitude.

One of the ordinary ways of reacting to these moods is by self-pity. The neurotic person therefore spends an inordinate amount of time in periods of self-pity, during which he introspectively reviews his past difficulties and failures. In these periods of self-pity there is a good deal of criticism of himself, combined, however, with criticism of others. The antagonism toward and criticisms of others during these periods are in part attempts to justify his own supposed unfortunate condition. It is significant that the neurotic individual generally feels more at ease after a period of self-pity. In part this is due to the process of blaming others for his failures, and in part to a release of emotional tension which is ordinarily difficult to attain. Because of the anxiety regarding impending failure, the neurotic person unconsciously attempts to find justifications. These justifications are in part found in the projection of blame upon others.

In many instances the neurotic person is able to exploit his antagonisms and hostilities in this process of self-pity. As we have seen previously, hostility and antagonism are characteristic of the neurotic person. Under many conditions, the neurotic individual is unable to express these attitudes, but he is able to do so in these introspective periods without exposing himself to retaliative action and to direct criticism by others. There is no doubt, also, that self-pity allows the person to escape temporarily, at least, from his problems and conflicts, since he is at that time involved in projecting his problems upon others. Thus, self-pity in some respects is not unlike depressions which are psychologically partly processes of escape from personal blame.

Attention has been called by many psychiatrists to the mechanism of self-punishment in self-pity. The process of self-pity involves alternate self-blame and rationalization. The personal blame and the feeling of unworthiness, together with anxiety of anticipated failure, are in many respects similar to the mechanism of self-punishment found in many individuals who thus expiate for a sense of wrong-doing. The type of self-punishment found in self-pity differs, however, from other types of punishment, especially in the sense that the attitudes of blame and punishment do not last beyond the moody periods. Following these periods, the individual generally feels better about himself and about his environment. The mechanism of self-punishment will be discussed more fully later as a reaction to a sense of guilt.

Environmental factors. — The symptoms of a neurotic person are often strongly influenced by environmental conditions. As an example, it has been observed that the symptoms of hysteria have radically changed over a period of years. Thirty or forty years ago paralyses and paraesthesias were commonly found among hysterical individuals. "Glove" anaesthesias and peculiar combinations of functional paralyses were seen frequently. At present such symptoms are rarely seen, probably as a result of common knowledge of anatomy and physiology. The anatomical impossibility of many previously observed hysterical conditions, such as those mentioned, is so well known that hysterical individuals can not simulate them without a sense of guilt.

An example of the influence of environmental problems is also seen in some of the differences between the neurotic symptoms of men and women. The factor of sex is apparently related to the difference in interests between the sexes. For example, neurotic women are more likely than men to develop symptoms of bodily disease. Such symptoms are frequently found in men also, but they are not as persistent nor as common as in women.

The difference in the frequency of such symptoms between men and women is probably due in part to the differences between their interests. Men are more likely to be concerned with business, social, and professional problems. Their conflicts, therefore, are not only more likely to arise from their concerns with these problems, but also tend to express themselves in symptoms concerning their success and failure in the attainment of their goals. Thus, a man's conflicts are likely to be intimately involved with his business or professional problems. In addition, conflicts which are not primary to his business or professional status are likely to show similar overt symptoms. For example, a sex conflict involving a sense of guilt may give rise to a secondary conflict of inferiority regarding business success or professional status. Women, on the other hand, are more often concerned with personal problems in a more circumscribed social area. They are not as likely to be concerned with business or professional problems. Their conflicts consequently result in a greater frequency of bodily symptoms. As it were, women are more likely to turn into themselves in their attempts to solve their conflicts and to decrease their emotional tensions.

That the symptoms of a mentally abnormal person also may reflect his environmental problems has been shown in a number of studies. Mention was made in Chapter III of studies of the cultural backgrounds of psychotic persons. It is not inferred that the environmental factors determine the development of mental abnormalities. It is significant, however, that the nature of the symptoms reflects the environmental problems regarding which the individual had frustrating experiences.

GUILT FEELINGS

A FEELING (or sense) of guilt is frequently found in neurotic persons. Indeed, many psychiatrists believe that it is the most characteristic symptom of a neurotic condition.

The belief is also held that a large share of the behavior of the neurotic person is determined by his attempts to solve his guilt feelings.

A sense of guilt is characterized by an unpleasant emotional attitude toward a belief that some wrong has been committed. The person may be conscious of his guilt. On the other hand, he may be unaware of his guilt, that is, the knowledge of a wrong committed in the past may be repressed. This repression is followed by further conflicts which in turn are also repressed.

A sense of guilt is most likely to arise because of participation in behavior which is tabooed by society. Because taboos center around moral behavior, the most frequent transgressions are likely to occur in the realm of sex activities. The intensity of such conflicts, as well as the intensity of the resulting symptoms, depends in large part upon the discrepancy between the training of the individual and the attitudes of the social order or persons to whom he must adjust. Thus a person with a rigid moral training finds himself at a disadvantage, and likely to develop conflicts, when he attempts to adjust to a group with liberal attitudes toward morality. Such situations often arise when an individual breaks away from his family. He is often likely to come under influences which deny his previous teachings. Although he may want to change his attitudes, his old habits are usually too fixed to enable him to change his beliefs easily.

Studies of the mental reactions of college freshmen, for example, have shown that many students suffer intensely from conflicts arising because of a discrepancy between their home training and the new conditions and attitudes to which they must adjust. Many of these students develop conflicts regarding morality and find great difficulty in adjusting to an order which is often much more liberal than their homes. As a consequence, a sense of guilt is likely to arise, manifesting itself frequently in a belief that their actions will be criticized should they be discovered.

A sense of guilt may arise in other ways. A traumatic experience, that is, an experience of which the person has no expectation, which results in anxiety and fear, and which the individual later, by retrospection, realizes would not have occurred had he not transgressed the social or moral code, is likely to result in a sense of guilt. In the case of guilt arising in this manner the resultant symptoms may appear as phobias. A phobia shows itself in fear or uneasiness to given conditions or situations. The condition or situation which the individual fears, or is uneasy about, is symbolic of his previous traumatic experience. The condition which he fears replaces the original fear and experience because his conflicts do not allow him to reflect upon his sense of guilt.

As a sense of guilt frequently arises from involvement in moral issues, the resulting conflicts usually express themselves in behavior containing moral symbols. Immorality, dirt, and uncleanliness are popularly associated together. The natural consequence of this association is an attempt by the person suffering from a sense of guilt, to "cleanse himself," as a way of discarding his guilt. Thus conflicts involving morality often manifest themselves in an attempt of the individual to be unusually clean. The adolescent who suffers from such conflicts is likely to spend a great deal of time in washing his hands. Adults also are likely to manifest this behavior. Such adults may be meticulous about themselves, and are greatly concerned with their appearance. They are also concerned with the cleanliness of their homes, and spend a great deal of time straightening their furniture, cleaning floors and rugs, and so on. They are also often worried lest outsiders discover that they are not good housekeepers or are not clean about their homes. They are either unaware of the conflicts which produced the sense of guilt, or find it too unpleasant to deal with their conflicts. In consequence, they develop this substitute behavior, that is, the attempt to be excessively clean, as symbols of their attempt to get rid of a sense of guilt.

The following behavior of a fourteen-year-old boy was interpreted as symbolic of the attempt to solve a sense of guilt by cleanliness. This boy's excessive cleanliness first showed itself at the age of thirteen, when it was noticed that he washed his hands many times during the day. Later he began to bathe frequently. Frequently he stayed two or three hours in the bathtub. On a number of occasions he daubed iodine on his hands and face. He told his parents that he had scratched himself and wanted to prevent an infection. In addition to iodine, he had bought mercurochrome and other antiseptics for use in "emergencies." He also used a boric acid solution to wash his eyes every evening. The parents stated that he refused to play ordinary games with other children because he did not want to soil his hands. When asked to explain his concern regarding cleanliness, he stated that he realized that he washed more than other boys, but that in his case there were real reasons. He believed that his skin was of such a texture that it retained dirt and germs, and he therefore was forced to wash and scrub himself.

No amount of persuasion was successful in deterring the boy from this behavior until his original conflicts began to be solved. He stated that he had been greatly worried about his guilt regarding his previous activities with other boys. His parents discovered that he took part in sex play and had punished him. They had frequently lectured him on the evils of "immoral" behavior and on one occasion, when he was nine, made him sign a pledge never to smoke or drink even beer. They also told him how some terrible diseases result from masturbation. Because they believed that he was detrimentally influenced by some of the neighborhood boys they carefully supervised his activities and selected his friends. He stated that he had "sworn off" masturbating on many occasions, and after each time he masturbated he felt thoroughly ashamed of himself. He also believed that he was deficient in character and will-power because he could not stop. He stated, "I know it's a dirty habit and if anyone finds me out they will think terrible things about me." After many interviews and much discussion, he began to change his attitude regarding the immorality of his past behavior and the possible consequences of his supposed moral transgressions. His excessive cleanliness gradually decreased, and he was able to take part in the activities of other boys without feelings of unpleasantness from soiling his hands and clothes. It is possible, of course, that his behavior changed not because of the solution of his conflicts, but only because he was no longer concerned about being found out.

Another example of the symbolic behavior of cleansing oneself of guilt is seen in the following case of a young married woman. For some time before she came for psychiatric service she had complained of a feeling of nervousness. She was unable to fall asleep quickly, her appetite was disturbed, and she had little energy. Her husband noticed that she seemed depressed and perplexed.

She showed little interest in ordinary household duties but did spend a great deal of time in the care of her five-year-old son.

The difficulty which precipitated her husband's decision to obtain medical aid was the increasing frequency of his wife's hand-washing. The unusual frequency was observed by him when his wife washed her hands about twenty times during the day. She excused this behavior by stating that she had read that people carried germs on their hands and that she was merely careful. In time the frequency increased until she washed and scrubbed her hands about fifty times a day. She was especially careful about touching food, and frequently wore gloves while cooking. She was also concerned about touching her child because she feared that she might transmit some disease germs.

This woman's behavior was unaffected by the assurance of several physicians that she had no dangerous germs on her hands. She believed that she was not told the truth, that the physicians were merely kind to her. When her background was examined, the symbolic basis of her hand-washing was discovered. She had been reared in a morally rigid environment. Her parents did not allow her to associate with young men until she was twenty, and even then they watched her carefully. The family did not play cards on Sundays. They believed that smoking, especially by women, was an evil.

The first serious sense of guilt arose when she took part in sex play with another girl at the age of eight. She was in constant dread that her parents would discover her escapade. On several occasions she decided to tell them about this incident but refrained because she knew that she would be punished. When in college an incident of sex play occurred with a young man. She was convinced she was immoral and decided to refrain from the company of all men, except when she was in a large group. When she was first married she refused to have sex relations except for the purpose of pregnancy.

The symbolism of the hand-washing became apparent to this patient only after a long period of treatment. At first hesitant in recalling her experiences she later expressed herself with considerable emotional emphasis. She recalled especially her anxiety about the immorality of her behavior. Coincident with the gradual decrease in the frequency of her hand-washing, her anxieties and "nervousness" also decreased. She also gradually accepted modern standards of behavior, although she remained aloof from many activities of her friends.

Conflicts involving a sense of guilt also bring with them feelings of anxiety. In part, this anxiety is the direct result of the sense of guilt and of the regret of the past experiences, which were the basis of the conflict. In part the anxiety results from a belief that serious consequences will follow because of these experiences. The anxieties are symbolic of the sense of guilt, and the belief that the past experiences are irrevocable. Emotional and physical tensions accompany this sense of guilt, resulting in restlessness, inability to concentrate upon a directed activity, mental confusion, and constant worry. Feelings of inferiority gradually develop and the individual thus tends to retreat socially because he unconsciously fears not only that he will be unable to compete successfully with others, but also that outsiders might discover the source of his problems. This fear of discovery is especially evident in the behavior of adolescents who have conflicts involving a sense of guilt regarding morality.

Many adolescents with conflicts about masturbation fear that their outward behavior will betray them. Consequently, they may avoid exposure to scrutiny from others. Sometimes adolescents believe that some particular physical condition will betray them. For example, the popular notion that one's eyes betray one's mental and physical condition causes many adolescents to believe that outsiders are observing their eyes closely and are thus discovering their masturbation.

The feeling of insecurity which accompanies a sense of guilt is usually associated with a feeling of inferiority. Such people are uncomfortable in the presence of others because of their discomfort and their sensitiveness to criticism. They often become defensive, and as a result tend to become quarrelsome and to raise an issue whenever a controversial subject is mentioned.

Compensatory behavior and guilt feelings. — The reaction to a sense of guilt may take the form of "making-up" for the real or imagined wrong that was committed. Unusual kindness to another person, for example, may be a reaction to a sense of guilt regarding some previous acts.

Oversolicitousness for the welfare of another person occasionally has its origin in a compensatory reaction to a sense of guilt. The excessive solicitousness may be a way of making up for some wrong, or it may be a defensive reaction against an opposite attitude, such as hate or hostility. A popular example is the case of a husband who suddenly sends flowers to his wife. The popular assumption is that he is making up for some sense of guilt regarding his previous behavior.

The following example of a mother who appeared to be excessively concerned over the welfare of her nine-year-old daughter illustrates some relationship between guilt feelings and oversolicitousness. She constantly consulted physicians about her daughter's health. She bought her expensive clothing and toys. She frequently irritated the child by excessive attention. Nevertheless she was not always kind to her. At times she punished her severely for slight misdemeanors.

The child was brought to a psychiatrist with the complaint that she did not obey her mother. After a number of discussions it was discovered that the mother had an intense hatred of her husband. It was also discovered that she disliked her daughter, partly because of the close affectional attachment between her husband and her daughter. Her antagonism to the child was thus a reaction to this affectional relationship. The daughter assumed an identification with the unpleasant traits of her husband. In part, the mother's reaction was an attempt to punish her husband. Her (unconscious) sense of guilt regarding her hatred of the child was then compensated for by excessive concern and solicitousness regarding her health.

The person who is excessive in warning an acquaintance regarding the dangers of a trip and who is overly concerned lest an accident befall the other, may be unconsciously hostile. The sense of guilt regarding the hostility may express itself in the compensatory reaction of concern and solicitousness. Thus, also, the strong defense of the virtues and feelings of another person may be merely a compensatory reaction toward an opposite attitude. The sense of guilt regarding the real attitude causes this overemphasis of the other person's virtues. This type of reaction is often seen not only in adults but also in adolescents who overemphasize the importance or virtues of their parents. They are immediately defensive towards any implication of criticism of their parents and are alert for slights.

An example of this type of reaction, as a result of a sense of guilt, was seen in a fifteen-year-old girl whose problems arose from neglect and hatred by her mother. On many occasions she indicated by implication, and at times by direct statements, that her mother hated her, and that she, in turn, disliked her mother. To the adults in the boarding school which she attended, she told of her mistreatment, that her mother never paid attention to her, and that she never had the clothes that other children wore. She had quarreled with her mother, had told her that she would run away from home, and expressed a wish never to return.

In psychiatric conference, she at first admitted her difficulties with her mother, and the reasons for her dislike. Later, she resented even an implication that her mother was at fault. This might have been due partly to her knowledge that society does not sanction such an attitude toward one's own mother, but was also due to a sense of guilt regarding her feelings. During free association she brought out her growing sense of guilt about her attitudes toward her mother. For some time the predominant reaction during the psychiatric conferences was an attempt to bring out the virtues of her mother and to blame herself for any discord which existed previously. In time she began to verbalize her memories of her early childhood. She recalled her feelings about her quarrels with her mother and the development of her attitudes regarding her rejection. As her verbalizations increased her emotional tensions regarding her sense of guilt decreased. She was more and more able to accept her mother. The decrease in the intensity of her conflicts also decreased her irritability and in turn increased her ability to make friends. The hostilities, which resulted from her sense of guilt, disappeared gradually, and she became more friendly, less isolated, and more willing to enter into a variety of social activities.

Expiation for a sense of guilt. — The solution of a sense of guilt may take the form of attempts at expiation for an (unconscious) sense of wrong-doing. Not uncommonly the individual attempts to expiate his sense of guilt in a number of different ways. The mechanism of expiation at times takes the form of a conversion to a lofty principle. Thus, sudden religious conversions, especially of the Evangelical type, are sometimes based upon the individual's sense of guilt. Through the religious conversion the individual makes up for a supposed wrong-doing. Not only does he expiate for his own wrongs, but he also attempts to right the wrong-doing of others. Such an individual is likely to be harsh to others and to project wrong-doing into all sorts of situations to which he would not have been sensitive otherwise. The crusader who attempts to reform others is frequently an individual who himself has a deep sense of wrong-doing and therefore projects wrong-doing upon others. He is likely to be cruel, intolerant, and harsh, although he may preach tolerance and kindness.

Self-punishment (at times accompanied by punishment of others) is another common unconscious form of expiation as a solution of conflicts involving a sense of guilt.

As anthropologists and sociologists have shown, punishment even in preliterate society was employed as a means of expiation for sin.[5] Thus in some primitive societies punishment was employed in order to placate the gods for some transgression. In modern society the purpose of expiation has been altered in many respects because of the intrusion of a revenge purpose. Yet in self-punishment there has been a carry-over of the older idea of expiation for guilt. Certainly the child learns that he is forgiven by his parents for any of his sins almost immediately after he is punished. Thus punishment and being forgiven are associated. Later on self-punishment assumes connotations similar to those arising from punishment by others.

All sorts of self-punishments are employed by persons who attempt to expiate a sense of guilt. Even a neurotic illness may serve the purpose of expiation because of the suffering the individual believes he is undergoing. Self-denials are also a form of self-punishment. Some individuals, for example, deny themselves luxuries ; others, even ordinary necessities. The ritualistically religious person who denies himself the goods of the world is probably in part reacting to a sense of personal guilt. Occasionally, people who are "martyrs" to a cause also illustrate self-denial in the process of self-punishment.

ANXIETY STATES

Anxiety states are the most frequent conditions observed in the neuroses. Anxiety varies greatly in intensity and is found as frequently among adolescents as among adults.

Various theories have been proposed to account for the frequency of anxiety conditions. Some psychoanalysts

[5] Edwin Sutherland, Criminology, Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1924, pp. 643. Harry E. Barnes, The story of punishment, Boston, The Stratford Co., 1930, pp. 292.

(such as Ernest Jones of England) believe that libidinal frustration results in a regressive reaction to an infantile state. This regression, unconsciously employed as an escape from the difficulties and frustrations, cannot solve the libidinal problems. The result is an increase of the morbid anxiety because of the almost complete lack of erotic expression in the symbolic infantile state.

Other psychiatrists deny that anxiety states are caused predominantly by libidinal frustrations. They point to the many other types of frustrations which may occur, such as social, economic and affectional. For example, an adolescent who has met frustration in his attempts to relate himself socially to his fellow-students may develop anxiety regarding his future. As his conflicts become more intense he becomes more anxious about his status, and he then tends to project his anxieties into the future.

Various investigations have shown, however, that although problems other than sexual may be the basis of anxiety reactions, most morbidly anxious persons are concerned with various moral problems. In many cases the anxious person has a strong sense of guilt regarding some real or supposed moral transgression. In these cases the anxiety is at least in part based upon a dread of expressing oneself in the manner feared. The anxious person has fears that he will act in a socially derogatory manner, that is, that he will actually express the desires about which he feels guilty. Thus one young man feared that he would make homosexual advances to some of his acquaintances, and therefore became socially isolated. This fear was symbolic of sex conflicts which arose during his childhood regarding mutual masturbation with other boys. He had also been discovered in exposing himself. His homosexual fixations continued but his sense of guilt deterred him from carrying out his desires. His specific fears and anxieties were later localized around the dread that his real wishes might express themselves despite his inhibitions.

Anxieties first manifest themselves as "free-floating" fears, that is, a vague anxiety not attached to a particular problem. As the condition progresses definitive fears and anxieties develop. The individual begins to specify his anxieties and fears. He may fear that he is developing a cancer, or that he may be in financial need in the future, or that he is showing signs of insanity. These fears are usually determined by environmental conditions with which the individual has come in close contact. The causative conflicts are repressed and hidden. He usually knows neither the origin nor the psychological function of his anxiety.

The morbidly anxious person shows a number of typical characteristics which hinder him in carrying on his routine activities. These characteristics are not diagnostic nor are they typically found only in the anxious person. They can be recognized, however, in the behavior pattern of every morbidly anxious individual.

An intense feeling of inferiority is found in the anxious person. This is accompanied by self-deprecatory attitudes. He blames himself for his supposed defects, although he also tends to project blame upon others. Because of the feelings of insecurity, the individual constantly seeks the reason for his unpleasant emotional attitudes. His feelings of insecurity also cause him to isolate himself socially. Although he is anxious to discuss his problems with other persons, he withholds his real attitudes. His isolation is increased by his belief that others will be able to discover his defects if they scrutinize him too closely. Thus he may withdraw even from his closest friends.

Indecision is one of the cardinal symptoms of an anxiety condition. The person may be unable to decide clearly in one direction or another, not only upon issues of importance, but also upon activities only trivial in nature. The anxious person realizes his indecisiveness and complains that he is unable to make up his mind on even the most ordinary affairs. In part, this indecision is due to his fear of failure should he act one way or another. His anxiety regarding decisions is heightened by the unpleasant reaction of regret after decisions are once made. This regret is the consequence of his feelings of inferiority and insecurity. He is never quite sure whether or not he has done the right thing or whether he has made a correct statement. Thus he is constantly on the defensive. He prefaces his remarks with apologies and is evasive when asked about his beliefs. The mental blocking which occurs when decisions have to be made frequently results in catatonic-like mental rigidity. Thus some patients refer to this condition as being "mentally frozen," unable to think or move in one direction or another.

The indecision of which the anxious person complains is frequently so distracting that the individual's general anxiety is greatly increased. One person stated, for example, that he spent five to ten minutes every morning trying to decide what color necktie to wear. Another person complained about his indecision regarding the way he should spend his time on week-ends. A third person had difficulty in ordering foods in restaurants.

Indecision does not always appear in direct form. Frequently the individual rationalizes his inability to decide on one activity or another. Thus one person, unable to decide where to go for his vacation, stayed home and rationalized this behavior by stating that he always had more rest at home. Another person rationalized his fear of taking an automobile trip by collecting data on the frequency of highway accidents.

The symptom which distresses the person with an anxiety is the feeling of impending doom. He believes more or less definitely that some calamity will befall him or that some unintentional act will result in catastrophe. He may believe that he is developing an incurable disease or an insanity. On the other hand, he may have no definite possibility in mind but nevertheless feels uneasy regarding the future. Every unfortunate event or physical symptom is thus interpreted in terms of a calamitous result. The feeling of impending doom is a further deterrent to activity. Because most activities are interpreted in terms of some personal danger, he tends to remain inactive and to isolate himself socially and physically.

Associated with the feeling of impending doom are periods of panic during which the tension, anxieties, and fears reach intensities which patients describe as unbearable. As one patient stated, "I feel tense, every muscle is taut. I am afraid to turn this way or that. It is like standing at the brink of a dark pit. I am tortured by my thoughts, but they really are not clear. It's all a jumble." Some patients state that they can hardly refrain from shouting. Their fear of attracting attention restrains them, however, and it is rare that the anxious person carries out the actions he fears. As an example, many persons report that they are "about" to commit suicide during the panic. They report that they usually rationalize themselves out of such behavior by not wishing to cause their families any further trouble.

The anxious person complains of being restless and irritable. The restlessness which often simulates compulsive behavior is probably a mechanism of warding off anxiety and personal evaluation. He complains of being unable to concentrate upon any activity or even to sit still for a reasonable length of time. In many instances the anxious person feels impelled to take long walks. He frequently rationalizes them by stating that he feels "jittery" and is able to collect himself by physical exertion. In general the physical activity is haphazard and is not directed toward a specific goal. The irritability and restlessness can frequently be observed also in signs of bodily tension.

In addition to the restlessness there may be a disturbance of bodily function. The anxious person is frequently unable to fall asleep quickly or to sleep well. His appetite may be disturbed and he may show symptoms of fatigue. The physical symptoms are explained by some psychoanalysts in terms of the frustration of libidinal energy. When such frustration occurs, restlessness may be expected. The ordinary sublimative activities which are common to the normal individual are not developed satisfactorily by the morbidly anxious person. It is probable, of course, that the original anxiety is partly due to an inability to employ ordinary sublimations. The restlessness may therefore be in part a symbolic, unfinished attempt at libidinal expression.

In the case of one young man of twenty-eight, the physical restlessness manifested itself to such an extent that the family believed him to be mentally abnormal. His first symptoms were inability to fall asleep and loss of appetite. His anxiety pattern showed itself, however, long before he became aware of his restlessness. His first symptoms of anxiety were concerned with his mental ability. He was about to graduate from college when he began to worry about his grades. Despite the assurance of his instructors that he was making satisfactory progress, he believed that he was failing. He dropped school for six months, then came back and finished his work. His acute anxiety symptoms then reappeared when he obtained a position in a university as an instructor. He was in constant fear of his inability to do good work and continually expected to be told about his failures by the university authorities. On several occasions he failed to meet his classes because he feared an appearance before the students. It was at this time that he also had many concerns about his sex problems. He had married after an acquaintance of only a few weeks and frequently regretted his action. From the very first he believed that the marriage was an incompatible one. After a few interviews with a psychologist, he was able to control the overt symptoms of his anxiety. They reappeared later, however, with increased intensity when he returned to college seeking an advanced degree.

MANNERISMS

All sorts of mannerisms can be observed in most people in their everyday behavior. They vary greatly in number and in the intensity with which they are expressed. Although mannerisms (gestures) are seen in large numbers they are not chance reactions but are probably symbolically related to the mental content. The mannerisms range in type from running one's fingers through the hair to various facial distortions. They occur especially during periods of anxiety, frequently in anticipation of a critical situation. Thus, one individual clenches his fists before responding to a given person. Another individual rubs his chin before answering a given question, whereas the next person smooths his clothes before he meets a new acquaintance.

Kraut, in a recent report[6] of an excellent investigation, states that autistic gestures are explicit responses to internal stimulation. Originally these gestures were responses to external stimulation. The gestures are unfinished, partially inhibited, and frequently distorted representations of reactions which otherwise would be normal. The inhibitions and distortions result from conflicts of which the individual may not be aware. The gestures are neither perceived by the individual nor are they responded to by observers. The individual cannot interpret them even when his attention is called to his gestures. Although they tend to be consistent in appearance and associated with given incidents or are reactions to given words or ideas, they cannot be interpreted without a knowledge of the underlying conflicts.

Upon specific questioning many persons report that they do "peculiar things" which they cannot inhibit. One young man stated that he must take two steps at a time when walking down stairs. When he accidentally took only one step he felt impelled to begin again from the top stair. A student reported that he counted in a sequence of 5's when studying. A boy of fifteen was reported as being irritable and fidgety in the classroom. The teacher stated that he insisted upon repeating many of his activities, whether or not he was successful upon the first occasion. Upon questioning he stated that he felt uneasy unless he repeated every act at least once. It is not clear whether the actions just described should be classified as gestures or whether they are compulsions. They are probably compulsions, because the individual must perform the acts in spite of his attempts to inhibit them. Also these acts occur on a much more conscious level than gestures. In addition the individual frequently complains of these (compulsive) acts as interferences with his attempts to adjust in a normal way.

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[6] Maurice H. Kraut, Autistic gestures, Psychological monographs, 1935, 46, pp. 126.

Whether the mannerisms of the normal person are of similar origin or function as those of the mentally abnormal person is a problem which has not been investigated thoroughly. Some psychiatrists are of the opinion that the mannerisms observed in the mentally abnormal person are symbolic either of a regressive reaction, whereby the individual assumes substitutive activities characteristic of a less mature period, or are symbolic of some specific conflicts. They may also be reintegrations of previous activities which are not of symbolic function or of particular significance in so far as the mental processes are concerned. The variety of gestures observed in psychotic patients are probably of some psychological significance, however.

The difficulty of interpreting mannerisms is illustrated in the following incident. A young psychotic patient of twenty-four was observed in the following gestures. He held his hand to the side, then waved it forward and backward, then pushed it out suddenly opening his hand at the moment. He did not readily respond to questioning, answering only occasional queries. In order to test him for his replies, he was asked the time, after being shown a watch. It happened to be ten minutes of eleven, and the question was repeated every minute. He responded quickly with ten to eleven, nine to eleven and eight to eleven, and when it was seven to eleven, he repeated the gestures described very quickly and said, "seven-eleven." The gesture was typical of the process of rolling dice. Now it is perfectly possible that the mannerism was a repetition of his previous experience of dice-rolling, but the question immediately arises regarding the particular symbolic function of that activity.

The mannerisms of the psychotic individual probably do not have the same significance as those of the normal person, and their developmental processes are probably different. The catatonic patient assumes postural mannerisms, for example, which appear to have some significance, but no data are at hand to explain their basis. The behavior of some patients, such as the mannerism of bowing, saluting, and winking, is so much like the gestures of the normal person that some symbolism is probably inherent in these activities. A great deal of further work is necessary, however, before conclusions can be made regarding the relationship between the psychological processes of the normal person and the repetitive systematized behavior of the abnormal individual.

The supposedly "meaningless" mannerisms of normal and abnormal persons have been considered by some psychiatrists to be unfinished (incomplete) acts, as Kraut concluded from his studies. Some inhibitory mechanism is supposed to suppress the completion of the act. From this standpoint some psychologists believe that a mannerism is symbolic of the attempt of a given drive to seek expression. And because of some inhibition, distortion occurs, as expressed in the mannerism. It is conceivable, therefore, from this premise, that each mannerism refers to some conflict which has led to repression and to the inhibition of a given urge or drive for self-expression. Speculation amongst psychiatrists has gone far. As an example, it has been said (by some psychoanalysts) that given catatonic postures are symbolic of a retreat mechanism. The assumption by the catatonic patient of a position simulating intrauterine posture is supposed to be symbolic of the wish to return to intrauterine life (thus to escape the difficulties and frustrations of reality).

The interpretation of mannerisms has usually been made on the basis of the particular philosophy of the psychiatrist rather than upon experimental evidence. Many psychoanalysts, for example, have interpreted the mannerisms of the mentally abnormal in terms of the probable meaning of mannerisms for normal persons. There is no doubt that the compulsive-like gestures of the abnormal person have some significance. But whether they are related to specific conflicts or inhibitions of self-expression has not been established in any studies. They may well be stereotypes unrelated to mental content.

REGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR

Most neurotic behavior involves some form of regression. The term regression implies a hideaway or a retreat from the immediate situation. It is obvious that man cannot retreat environmentally in the same way as animals when the situation becomes difficult. Since the behavior of man is characterized principally by intricate and subtle symbolic activities, it is but natural to expect that his regressive mechanisms will be symbolic in character.

Retreat from reality implies a replacement of the environmental situation which the individual cannot face by a condition with which he was able to deal previously. For most individuals, childhood, at least in retrospect, is a period when one is sheltered and protected from unpleasant realities and when one can easily evade responsibilities by appealing to parents. Evading reality is therefore in a sense comparable to a regressive act since in both instances the mechanism of escape dominates the individual's behavior. In a like manner the individual who regresses is considered to be one who behaves in an immature fashion. Facing reality is synonymous with maturity, and society has fairly well-defined standards for levels of maturity. The adolescent, for example, is supposed to take more responsibility for himself, to be more independent, to assume blame for his failures, and to withhold seeking help for a greater length of time than the elementary school child.

A regressive activity, as some writers have shown, is in part an evasion of effort at adjustment. In accordance with the theories of some psychiatrists that neurotic and psychotic persons lack fundamental "energy" to adjust to realities, the individual who regresses thus lacks this energy and therefore takes every opportunity to reinstate a level of behavior which requires little effort. Practically, the nearest approach to such a level occurs during childhood. The essential feature of the regression is a childhood pattern of behavior. As stated previously, it is often impossible to go back to a childhood conduct pattern. This accounts in part for the vacillating behavior of regressive activity, that is, behavior which at one time has childhood connotations and at other times appears to be of an adult level.

Some psychiatrists speak of regression as if it were a maladjustment in itself. On the contrary, regressive behavior must be considered as a relatively effective method of avoiding difficulties and frustrations. The secondary maladjustments resulting from such behavior may in turn cause further difficulty in adjustment to others. F. L. Wells,[7] for example, in his scholarly presentation of the problem, considers regressive behavior in terms of its adaptive functions. This implies that regressive activity is not a deteriorative reaction, but is, on the contrary, an adjustment which frequently solves at least immediate difficulties. It is a motivated form of behavior which implies choice, and therefore struggle, but in which the final pattern of behavior is not consciously or deliberately chosen by the individual.

It must be understood, however, that the term regressive activity cannot be given to momentary periods of "child-like" behavior. When behavior is diagnosed as regressive, the diagnosis must be based on a pattern of adjustment which includes purpose and relative constancy. It is therefore a question whether the child-like activity at times observed in the psychotic person can be diagnosed as regressive behavior since the psychotic individual may merely deteriorate, if not emotionally and intellectually, at least socially. This deterioration does not allow him to respond in ordinary adult ways. Therefore, no regressive functions may be evident.

A variety of forms of escape from reality have been considered in psychiatric literature as regressive behavior. As nearly every person at one time or another utilizes escape as at least a partial solution to his problems, it is difficult to understand the psychological meaning of the diagnosis of regression when applied in this fashion. Some psychiatrists consider escapes as regressive activity only when the escape mechanism is systematized and patterned and when it remains as a constant feature of the adjustmental activities. Thus it is difficult to diagnose occasional drinking as a regressive activity. Chronic alcoholism, on the other hand, may be considered as regressive since the by-product of the alcoholism is a childhood behavior at least in so far as the evasion of responsibilities is concerned. The alcoholic is able not only to escape realities through the narcotizing effect of the alcohol, but is also able to evade unconsciously all adult responsibilities because of his physical and mental disorientation.

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[7] F. L. Wells, Social maladjustments : adaptive regression, In The handbook of social psychology, edited by Carl Murchison, Worcester, 1935, Clark University Press, 845–915.

Regressive activity involves a psychological mechanism somewhat different from ordinary evasion. The person who evades but whose evasion does not involve a regression, often has a sense of guilt and a dim awareness (and frequently anxiety) of his evaded responsibilities. The person with regressive activity, on the other hand, has, by the very process of regression, lost all need for awareness of responsibilities. The conflict mechanism no longer is a dynamic activity but is now submerged in the symbolism of the regression.

Differentiation has at times been made between "active" and "passive" regressive activity. The neurotic individual may be said to be actively regressing to a form of behavior through which he can temporarily solve the conflicts which are the dynamic motivators of this behavior. The term passive has been given to the form of behavior in which reality is avoided by mere escape. Thus, periods of amnesia, dypsomanic periods, and attempts to escape by sleep are considered as passive regressive reactions. It is natural, however, that the so-called passive reactions may exist coincidentally with the active. The neurotic individual who shows regressive features of an active sort may also utilize sleep as an escape mechanism. His fatigue in the morning may be the justification for extra naps or for going to bed early the next evening. The clearest example of the function of sleep as a passive regressive act is seen in the normal individual who becomes sleepy when he becomes bored. He may scarcely be able to keep his eyes open but feels very much refreshed the next moment and not at all sleepy, when a new person enters the room, or when a new activity is suggested to him. Even children of nursery school age have been observed in this form of regressive behavior. In recent observations of nursery-school children, it was found that many children who rebelled against the afternoon nap slept soundly when an unpleasant task was substituted for the afternoon nap period. (The paradox of considering the behavior of three-year-olds as regressive, is, however, obvious.)

Regressive activity, although adaptive from the standpoint of the solution of the immediate problems, does not always ease the tension of the basic conflicts. Furthermore, the person with a regressive pattern is forced to continue the given behavior; otherwise the emotional tensions reappear. The hysterical individual who regresses to a pattern of childlike behavior as an escape from his difficulties, cannot return to an adult level because the very adult responsibilities which he unconsciously evades would then reappear. Regressive behavior thus is rarely permanently satisfactory even if it is successful in solving the immediate problems.

A form of behavior closely allied to regressive activity is sublimation. Sublimative activity is sometimes called "progressive" to distinguish it from regressive. Although basic conflicts may not be solved in sublimative activity, the dynamic satisfactions obtained in the sublimations replace the desires and frustrations which in other cases lead to regression. The difference between sublimation and regression frequently depends upon the social connotations of the behavior, that is, the attitudes of others toward the substitute activities.[8] Thus all sublimation results in activity which is less aggressive and in many instances less dynamic than the behavior for which it substitutes. It is as if the individual gives up his quest for the satisfaction of his primary desires and compromises with the substitute attainments. This "compromise" is not effected consciously, although some individuals are able to rationalize retrospectively their sublimated behavior. Lewin [9] has shown experimentally how a child foregoes his attempts at the completion of an activity when he consistently fails, and then substitutes another activity. In many cases, the substituted activity occurs only after a good deal of emotional tension, accompanied by overt manifestations such as temper tantrums and angers. Similar emotional tensions may occur in adults before sublimated behavior results, but the overt manifestations are not seen as frequently.

The question naturally arises whether the mechanism of sublimation is fundamentally a different psychological process than that of regression. The main difference appears to be that in sublimation the emotional tensions of the conflicts may be dissipated in the substituted activities, whereas in regression the tensions are dormant. Furthermore, the tensions during regressive behavior act as dynamic stimulators to the maintenance of the regressive activity. Adaptation to a less aggressive and adult form of activity is thus not the only criterion of regression. Every individual at one time or another (and perhaps constantly) finds satisfactions at levels less aggressive than he had been accustomed to formerly. Indeed, according to some psychiatrists, the process of emotional maturation implies the ability to find satisfactions on a less imaginative and aggressive level typical of adolescent behavior. From the standpoint of mental hygiene it is evident that such a process must take place, else the individual may be in a constant tumult of emotional tension because of the continual projection of his satisfactions into so-called higher levels. The interpretation of McDougall's theory of personality integration implies that such adjustments are necessary in order that personality integrity may be maintained in the face of continual frustrations.

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[8] The term "sublimation" is employed in the present discussion in a wider sense than its use in psychoanalytic writings.

[9] Kurt Lewin, A dynamic theory of personality, 1935, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., pp. 286.

The process of finding simpler satisfactions naturally implies limitations. The senile individual who finds satisfactions similar to those of the ten-year-old is considered deteriorated, although he may be perfectly adjusted to his own environment. If his satisfactions are integrated within the pattern of his personality, his regression is merely one of general deterioration rather than a form of disorientation which is characteristic or associated with regressive activity in the otherwise normal individual. The dissociation occurring in regressive activity (and as some psychiatrists maintain, the regressive activity resulting from the dissociation) results in a "breaking-off" of the personality pattern into distinct phases, one or more of which may be submerged. Thus the conflicts are deprived of their dynamic energy and the individual no longer is under tension.

The regressive activities of many neurotic individuals are not characterized by overt child-like behavior but by symbolic activities. For example, a continuous headache or other neurotic symptom certainly does not characterize a childhood level of behavior, but it does bring about reactions from others through which a childhood relationship can be reestablished. Relatives and friends are now solicitous of the welfare of the individual. He is thus able to maintain himself as the center of attention. He is also able to dominate others in his immediate environment by constantly "forcing" them to pay attention to his needs. The turmoil of early childhood is thus reestablished and the individual can lay direct blame upon others for his difficulties. As a by-product of this symbolic reestablishment of early childhood, the individual is able to evade his responsibilities and his sense of guilt and feeling of personal failure. The emotional tensions previously attached to his conflicts now reattach themselves to the new relationship to his friends and relatives. The resistance that he meets from other people becomes the motivator to the continuance of his neurotic behavior since he now rationalizes the resistant attitudes of others as antagonism to him. Thus the internal turmoil with his own conflicts is now replaced by external turmoil. The maintenance of this external turmoil becomes an insistent necessity as an avoidance of the internal conflicts.

For this reason the anxiety frequently returns when the individual attempts to discard his overt symptoms. In many instances when turmoil is no longer created by the symptoms of a physical illness, the patient becomes quarrelsome, partly as an unconscious attempt at maintaining the turmoil he has created. The neurotic who employs regressive behavior is never entirely satisfied with a placid existence and interprets the undemonstrative behavior of others as indifference. He thus can take issue with the indifference of the other people, further intensifying the turmoil. As with the spoiled child, it is difficult for the average person to know how to respond to the regressive neurotic. If an attitude of solicitousness is maintained, the patient believes that he is seriously ill. If, on the other hand, a calm attitude is maintained, the patient interprets this in terms of antagonism and lack of understanding.

As was mentioned briefly previously, the type of symptoms a patient develops is frequently influenced by his intelligence. Overtly childish, quarrelsome behavior is frequently seen in the less intelligent person who is unable to reinstate his childhood behavior in other than direct substitution. The more intelligent person is more likely to use symbolic behavior. The less intelligent person, for example, is apt to be the constant complainer who directly accuses others of antagonism and indifference. The more intelligent person utilizes obscure symptoms and symbolic manifestations of dependency. It has been noticed that the less intelligent person frequently develops fears of being alone or fears of the dark, whereas the more intelligent individual is likely to utilize moody periods and subtle criticism as a means of drawing the attention of others toward himself.

McDougall believes that regression is not an active process. The Freudians, on the other hand, as was mentioned previously, maintain that regressive activity is an active, purposeful behavior, designed to reinstate an infantile level of behavior when libidinal expression at an adult level is frustrated. McDougall[10] states that regressive behavior is a "re-animation" of the behavior that has been latent since childhood. In the process of growth, a variety of patterns are assumed which result in the suspension of those functions which are characteristic of earlier levels. When the higher functions, that is, the more mature modes of behavior, cannot express themselves, the inhibition of these modes of expression automatically allows the behavior characteristic of earlier levels to reassert itself. In this sense regression is therefore not a directly purposeful activity, that is, the reinstatement of childhood patterns of behavior is not in itself an attempt to attain actually or symbolically a definite end. This does not mean, however, that the establishment of childhood behavior may not result in temporary solution of an individual's conflicts. Indeed, McDougall implies that the conflicts of an individual cause the suspension of adult behavior, and thereby are the cause of the reinstatement of childhood patterns. In McDougall's words, ". . . we may suppose that the vital or nervous energy, being withdrawn from those levels of the nervous system concerned in these higher functions then revitalizes older, more primitive, infantile levels of function, finding its outlet through nervous channels organized and active in infancy, but long disused."

Regression is therefore, according to McDougall's reasoning, a pathological rather than a definite adjustive psychological process, although the ultimate function for the individual does have psychological connotations. That the regression seems to be at least in part a reinstatement of a childhood form of behavior, many phases of which are not specifically necessary as a function of a dynamic return to a period of helplessness and protection, is suggested by studies of hysterical regression. In a recent study it was found that regressive activity was accompanied by an intellectual level roughly commensurate with the emotional level attained during the regression. In a case recently reported,[11] it was found that intelligence tests corroborated the evaluation of the emotional level, that is, the mental age as found by specific tests showed a level similar to that which was expected from the emotional behavior of the individual. It seems, therefore, that the primary conflicts which resulted in the regressive behavior made it necessary for the patient to regress at the same time to an intellectual level which made it possible to maintain the regressed pattern.

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[10] William McDougall, Outline of abnormal psychology, New York, 1926, Chas. Scribner's Sons, 281–298.

As was implied previously, regressive activity occurs frequently in the normal individual. Whether child-like behavior in isolated instances can be called regression, is a question which many psychiatrists have raised. It is perfectly possible, for example, for a pattern of behavior to arise in which child-like behavior is employed as a means to the attainment of given goals without the psychological mechanism of regression. The behavior may not be deliberate and conscious, but it may nevertheless not be regressive psychologically. Some psychiatrists believe that the normal person who may show child-like behavior never manifests his regressive activity in symbolic behavior, that is, in functional disabilities. Others, like McDougall, believe that the term regression should not be applied to symptoms which take the form of disabilities, such as amnesias, anaesthesias, and paralyses. McDougall states that in such disabilities it is not possible to define the childish or infantile character of the behavior. On the other hand, it is obvious that regression may be symbolically manifested. For example, a disability such as a (functional) paralysis may allow the individual to replace his immediate responsibilities and frustrations by the protection, attention, and affection which he obtained because of his illness. In that sense, therefore, the symptoms result in the reestablishment of a childhood relationship with friends and relatives without resort to actual child-like behavior.

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[11] Mandel Sherman and Blake Crider, Verification of emotional regression by tests, American journal of psychiatry, 1933, 12, 1085–1094.

CHAPTER VII

CONFLICTS AND ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR

THE FOLLOWING discussion of the relationship between mental conflicts and antisocial behavior of children is not designed to include the innumerable deviations of behavior which exist among children. The discussion is limited to behavior disorders in which some relationship has been established between mental conflict and the asocial or antisocial behavior under consideration. The examples of children's behavior which will be given have been selected from the cases which have been under study at a school for the study of unadjusted children.[1] All of these children were observed for a period of at least six months. The relationship between mental conflict and antisocial behavior which was established in these instances is not considered, however, as the final explanation of the behavior. The factors involved in the causation of even the simplest habits are so intricate that any attempt to establish a specific mental conflict as a causative agent must be evaluated only in terms of theory.

Few systematic theories have been advanced to explain the development of behavior disorders of children. This is not difficult to understand in view of the paucity of information regarding the effect of various personal and environmental conditions. At one time, for example, behavior disorders were considered to be due almost entirely to intellectual retardation. Thus, following the introduction of intelligence testing and its use on a large scale, Goddard and other observers published material purporting to show that the largest single cause of conduct disorders is intellectual retardation. Some writers stated that over ninety per cent of delinquents were mentally deficient.

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[1] The Orthogenic School of the University of Chicago.

As further studies were made and as psychologists became aware of other influencing factors, the earlier beliefs regarding the predominant importance of intellectual retardation were greatly modified. In 1934 the Gluecks,[2] in the course of their analysis of juvenile delinquency, compared the frequency of mental defectives among juvenile delinquents and among school children in Massachusetts. Of dull and backward children the frequency among juvenile delinquents was 28.2 per cent and among school children 14 per cent; of borderline defectives 17.1 per cent and 5.5 per cent; and of mental defectives (I. Q. of 70 and below) 13.1 per cent and 1.5 per cent. In other studies [3] it has been found that the probability of delinquency among mentally deficient individuals is approximately five times as great as among persons of higher intelligence.

The analysis of the relationship between mental deficiency and delinquency is not as simple, however, as it may at first appear. For example, the frequency of mental retardation is greater in children of low economic and social status. It is known also that irrespective of the intellectual factor delinquency is more frequent among children of low social and economic status. This is due to a variety of factors such as poor training, relative irresponsibility of the parents, unstable home life, and so on. It is evident, therefore, that the high relationship between mental deficiency and delinquency may be due to the complicating factor of the low economic and social status of these delinquents. If this factor were partialed out it is possible that the correlation between mental deficiency and delinquency would not be as high as it now appears.

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[2] Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor T. Glueck, One thousand juvenile delinquents, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1934, p. 102.

[3] See The proceedings of the American Association on Mental Deficiency, published by the Association, New York, 1934, p. 286.

Some observers have shown that intelligence is related more directly to the type of antisocial behavior than to its frequency. Cyril Burt has shown, for example, that some forms of conduct disorders are peculiar to intellectually defective children. As an example, truancy manifested in wandering away from school or home is most frequently observed in retarded children, whereas truancy of the premeditated sort where two or more children are involved occurs more frequently in intellectually normal children. Another example of this relationship is seen in the extremely high rate of frequency of mental retardation and deficiency among girl sex delinquents. In correctional institutions for female sex delinquents the estimates of the frequencies of mental retardation and deficiency have varied from 41 to 70 per cent. These high frequencies must be evaluated in terms of the factors leading to institutional commitment. A sexually delinquent girl of defective intelligence is much more likely to be institutionalized than a delinquent of normal intelligence. It is a fact, however, that girls of low intelligence are more likely to be sexually delinquent than girls of high intelligence.

THE EMPHASIS UPON PSYCHOGENIC CAUSATION

With the introduction of psychoanalytic investigation and its widespread use in studies of children, the psychogenic influence of conflict development as a basis for conduct disorders began to be stressed. Physical and environmental factors as sole causative agents were disclaimed. Instead, these factors began to be considered as causative only in terms of their effect upon the mental mechanisms of children. Every conduct problem began to be investigated in terms of its psychogenic origin. The group of "individual psychologists" headed by Alfred Adler also emphasized the psychogenic role, although in a somewhat different way. Adler, for example, implies (but does not always state) that the innate drive to gain superiority always involves a child in personality deviations and frequently in conduct disorders. He believes that the compensatory mechanism develops in each child sooner or later because of his recognition of a real or imagined inferiority of some sort. When the conflicts which supposedly invariably develop become intense, the child turns to compensatory behavior as a solution. Some forms of compensatory behavior are useful and socially approved, such as the development of skills, or unusual interest in learning. Others may be socially unsatisfactory, such as over-aggressiveness or delinquent behavior. Psychologically, social and antisocial behavior originate in the same way. The choice of one form or another thus depends upon accident (the opportunities of the moment), the standards of the group, or the suggestion of playmates. Once a definite line of action is determined (unconsciously), the individual fixates his habits. The antisocial behavior may become more and more undesirable since the original conflicts are not always solved by the compensatory activities. The child finds himself further and further involved in his compensations and finally develops a personality pattern which dominates his other urges and desires. In this sense, the antisocial behavior assumes the form of compulsions which the individual cannot easily control, nor can others redirect him without first solving the causative conflicts.

According to such a theory, we might expect an antisocial child to be quite normal in some situations but, say, delinquent under conditions which jeopardize his prestige or status. This is, of course, the case in a large number of delinquent children. An interesting example of such varying behavior is seen in adolescents in reformatory schools. A number of these boys run away at every opportunity. They may also be uncooperative and antagonistic. When sent on errands, however, they are often quite honest, behaving in an astonishingly scrupulous manner. In one institution it was found that boys who are sent home for a visit rarely fail to return. In most cases they return punctually from their visit home. The next day, however, they may run away. It is probable, of course, that these individuals attain a given status by being trusted by the officials, and consider everyday discipline as frustrations from which they seek to escape.

A corollary of such reactions is found in the behavior of some children towards others with similar problems. Argumentative children, for example, often attempt to cooperate with parents and teachers in the treatment of other argumentative individuals, but fail to recognize their own problems. There is no doubt that they genuinely fail to recognize the significance of their behavior. When attention is called to their behavior, they often consider this to be an affront to their personalities. This is, of course, the case with many aspects of the personality pattern of most individuals. They may be thoroughly unaware of a given trait until someone calls it to their attention.

According to the report of the Gluecks,[4] three-fifths of the delinquent boys they studied "had marked emotional and personality defects ranging from a high incidence of conditions not definitely classifiable as psychotic, 'psychopathic,' 'peculiar,' or neurotic, to a small percentage of definitely psychotic syndromes." The histories of these delinquent boys showed a number of habits which can be classified as implying a neurotic condition, such as stammering, nail-biting and bed-wetting.

The data presented by the Gluecks on the nativity of these delinquents are significant from the standpoint of conflicts. Seventy per cent of the delinquents were native-born with one or both parents foreign-born, 13.2 per cent were native as well as their parents, and 16.5 per cent of the delinquents and their parents were foreign-born.

In the chapter on "Culture Conflicts," evidence was presented to show how conflicts develop in children of foreign-born parents. It is quite conceivable that delinquent behavior may result from the emotional tensions of these conflicts. Since delinquent behavior may be an expression of compulsive activity, the presence of culture conflicts can well account for the high incidence of delinquents among native children of foreign-born parents.

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[4] Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor T. Glueck, One thousand juvenile delinquents, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1934, p. 109.

THE CONFLICT BASIS OF ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR

William Healy of the Judge Baker Foundation first attempted to systematize his findings on the relationship between conflicts and behavior disorders in a book published in 1916.[5] He attempted to show, for example, that delinquent acts are often compulsive in nature and that these compulsions arise from various types of mental conflict. He stressed the relationship between sex conflicts and behavior disorders. As an example, he believed that delinquent acts often are substitutive reactions for sex conflicts. Healy believed that many delinquent acts are the results of the tensions due to sex conflicts and apparently act as substitute activities for sex expression. The individual is thus relieved of the emotional tensions arising from frustration.

In recent years a great deal of controversy has arisen regarding the value of psychiatric interpretation of the behavior disorders which are classified as delinquency. Sociologists and criminologists have pointed out that no differentiation has been shown to exist between the conflicts of the delinquent child and those of a child with other forms of behavior deviation or even the child who is ordinarily classified as normal. Not only has the etiological basis been questioned but there has also been a question of the value of psychiatric therapy in the reorientation of delinquent children or in the prevention of delinquencies.

Healy, amongst others, has countered with the statement that the psychiatrist does not claim to have discovered the sole etiological basis of behavior disorders and emphasized that given conflicts may result in delinquent or other undesirable behavior.[6] Healy states that sociologists may have discovered some general factors related to delinquency, but he believes that the "deeper issues of emotional adjustments" are significant. The obsessional impulses to antisocial behavior are supposedly more deep-rooted than anything else. The deep-rooted conflicts cannot be observed under ordinary conditions nor can they be easily discovered by ordinary psychiatric methods. The implication in Healy's attempts to differentiate the conflict basis of antisocial from neurotic children is that the conflicts of children who behave antisocially are deeply buried and do not come to the surface as in neurotic children. Furthermore, the impulses, urges and obsessional activities of the child with conflicts that do not come to the surface easily are much more constant and are not readily satisfied or curbed. The child cannot control his emotional drives, nor can he divert them as the neurotic frequently does. Given conflicts may result in delinquent and other undesirable behavior through the (unconscious) attempts of the child to solve his conflicts.

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[5] William Healy, Mental conflicts and misconduct, 1920, Boston, Little, Brown, and Co., pp. 330.

From the statements of Healy and others it is to be inferred that the underlying conflicts of children with behavior disorders have a greater driving force than the innumerable conflicts of children who adjust in a socially acceptable manner. The restrictions of society and the expectation of punishment which act as deterrents to the ordinary child have but little effect upon the delinquent. Or, the nature of the emotional make-up of the child with a behavior disorder may differ from that of the average child, and conflicts which ordinarily cause but slight discomfort result in abnormal behavior. Our knowledge is meager, however, regarding the subtle and intangible effects of the infinite variations of habit and experience patterns and the innumerable environmental influences which are exceedingly difficult to measure.

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[6] William Healy, Psychiatry and the juvenile delinquent, The American journal of psychiatry, 91, 1935, 1317–1325.

In the psychoanalytic interpretation of behavior disorders any unusual experience may be of importance. Conflicts may result from experiences which the child cannot integrate into his everyday behavior. If a child is exposed for the first time to some sex practice, for example, he cannot accept his experience placidly due to the attitudes of his parents. The stricter his home training, the greater is the emotional tension. He must keep the knowledge of his experience a secret, although it may have been pleasurable. At first he is able to keep his behavior a secret. In time, however, as he desires to repeat the forbidden experience, conflicts develop, accompanied by a sense of guilt. Retrospectively, he elaborates upon the experience, imagining transgressions which may not have taken place. The emotional tension may be latent for some time but is reawakened by experiences which he consciously or unconsciously associates with the original event. If at the time of this forbidden experience some other forbidden practice also took place, such as an episode of stealing, he may later habitually substitute stealing in place of the urge to repeat the sex experience. Or, if the emotional tension is repressed, it may "break through" finally in uncontrolled behavior which often takes the form of delinquency.

In some instances, delinquent acts are expressed as a symbolic mechanism of hostility against those in authority who presumably hinder the child from the pleasurable experiences which parents and society forbid. The punishment of one sort or another which follows his delinquent acts increases the intensity of his conflicts and the compulsive hostility. Some psychiatrists believe that delinquent behavior is continued not despite, but because, of the punishment, that is, that given individuals unconsciously seek punishment. Because conflicts of the type mentioned are accompanied by a sense of guilt, the individual seeks some way of absolving himself from his guilt. Traditionally, a person expiates his guilt by punishment, and the reaction of society to a delinquent serves that purpose. (A similar explanation of "self-punishment" is offered by some psychiatrists in the persistent symptoms of a neurotic person who constantly suffers some pain.)

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS

EXPERIENCES of the type just described are often defined as "traumatic." These experiences may produce detrimental emotional or behavioral results for many years. The memory of these experiences may lie dormant until adulthood when a chance event may awaken conflict. The reaction to the conflict then rarely takes the form of delinquent acts, since the individual's social patterns are already well fixated. But emotional disturbances and neurotic symptoms may result, especially when other problems and conflicts are present.

The explanation of antisocial behavior only in terms of response to conflict is unacceptable to many sociologists. Sociologists have shown, for example, that delinquent behavior is often a product of the social organization of the environment of the child. They have shown that the frequency of delinquency differs in different areas of a city. As a corollary, it is possible to predict the frequency of delinquency from a knowledge of the social and economic characteristics of a given area.[7] In areas of social disorganization, community control is not effective. Furthermore, the tradition of delinquency and other forms of antisocial behavior motivates the young children to attempt to emulate those who have a reputation for breaking the law. As Shaw states, many children look up to the "big shots" and hope to be like them in the future. In such a situation the attempts of parents to control and discipline their children are ineffective. And many parents, themselves a product of the process of social decay and disorganization, make but little effort to mold the attitudes and habits of their children.

The import of social studies, like those of Shaw, lies not only in calling attention to factors of social organization in the community at large, but also in their implications regarding the subtle forces of the specific environment to which a child must orient himself. Descriptions of home conditions contained in many studies often are superficial. The intricacies of family organization are not described adequately. The emotional elements of the interrelationships, the discrepant attitudes between the parents, the personal difficulties and the frustrations of the parents often affect significantly the emotional balance, and consequently the social behavior, of the children. These factors are frequently impossible to study in adequate detail. Consequently, psychiatric studies of children often fail to discover the causative factors, and superficial psychiatric findings are often given in explanation of the causative conditions.

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[7] Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, Social factors in juvenile delinquency, Report on the cause of crime, Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1931, pp. 401.

Difficulties in measuring the effect of environmental influences upon an individual's behavior are not confined to studies of grown children or adults. Bott [8] has shown how difficult it is to measure the varying influences upon the behavior of nursery school children. And it is even more difficult to evaluate the meaning of the responses of the children. For example, Piaget [9] found that young children show a high frequency of egocentric speech. (Piaget found, for example, that six-year-olds show a frequency of approximately thirty-eight per cent egocentric speech.) It would be precarious to compare the egocentricity of the speech of young children with the same behavior of adolescents or adults. It is possible, for example, that the young child's references to himself may be due to his lack of adequate comprehension of his relationships to others, and therefore may not have the same significance as the same type of reference shown by the adult. In other words, the young child may not show the same emotional associations in his speech as the adolescent or adult.

The orientation of the small child to the outer world does not involve as much emotional adjustment as in the case of the adolescent. The dynamic elements of his adjustments are of less significance. Thus, social interrelationships of young children, whether they are measured in terms of language, choice of activities, or friendships, cannot be interpreted by retrospective analysis or by the use of the same categories of explanation that are employed in the case of adults. And thus also the significance of social and environmental influences must be evaluated mainly in terms of the emotional connotations of the conditions experienced.

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[8] Helen McM. Bott, Personality development in young children, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, University of Toronto Studies, 1934, pp. 139.

[9] J. Piaget, The language and thought of the child, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1926, pp. 246.

Antisocial behavior cannot be explained entirely in terms of the motivating forces of the environment, because a large number of children living under stable environmental conditions also develop delinquent traits. A number of investigators have pointed to a possible relationship between specific (and personal) environmental factors and behavior which may lead to delinquency. For example, the position of a child in the family is supposed to be of significance in shaping his habit patterns. According to some psychiatrists (Alfred Adler, for example) the recognition by a child of his position in the family is likely to influence him in the development of attitudes resulting in given emotional patterns. The youngest child may develop feelings of inferiority because of his recognition of his brother's greater size and strength or because his older brother or sister receives less supervision and discipline.

According to such a theory, the youngest child also fails to develop attitudes of responsibility because he is generally sheltered and protected by his parents and because he receives more physical attention than his brothers and sisters. Thus, as he matures, he is likely to develop conflicts when the attention he has learned to expect is no longer forthcoming from his parents or from outsiders. Antisocial behavior is likely to arise as a means of obtaining attention. It may also arise as a by-product of his drive to express himself emotionally in substitution for the satisfaction previously derived from his affectional relationships with his parents.

The oldest child (according to the same reasoning) becomes accustomed to domination and independence, partly because the attention from the parents is directed to the younger children, and partly because he takes over the attitudes of the adults. He is relatively in the same position as the parents, physically and mentally, flourishing his authority over the younger members of the family. Consequently he is likely to adopt the same attitudes outside of the home. But he is quickly rebuffed. His domineering attitudes increase in intensity and soon he clashes with those he imagines are restricting his activities. Delinquency or other forms of rebellious antisocial behavior are therefore likely to arise.

A number of objective studies have shown, however, that a child's position in the family is important only when there are undesirable reactions of the parents and siblings and when he develops a sense of insecurity because of a lack of sufficient recognition. A child may be the third of five siblings and yet not suffer from the domination of the older children. Nor may he believe that the younger obtain more attention from the parents. But his position in the family may become untenable to him if he has conflicts of insecurity, perhaps unrelated to the factors involved in his position among the siblings. The treatment accorded to him in the home, compared to the oldest and youngest, may not only intensify his conflicts of insecurity but may also become the basis for other conflicts. He may doubt his security in the home because of the domination of the older siblings. At the same time he may believe that his parents are discriminating against him. Sibling rivalry and jealousy, a consequence of such a situation, tend to intensify his conflicts. In his rivalry for the affection of his parents he may develop all sorts of angers and hates, some of which are openly expressed and others repressed.

In some instances the child who is an unsuccessful rival in his home transfers his antagonistic attitude to other situations. Such a child constantly strives to outdo his friends and acquaintances, and is bitterly disappointed when they are successful or when they are praised for their abilities or accomplishments. He tends to be argumentative and to retreat from situations in which there might be a chance of some other child's success. Concerned because of his lack of security he suspects that he is being rejected socially, as he believes his parents have rejected him. He frequently quarrels with his friends and justifies his claim that he has no friends by calling attention to their disagreements with him. He tends to attach himself to adults, but generally shifts his allegiance frequently.

The mechanism of hostility and antisocial behavior manifested in compulsive activity as a result of a sense of insecurity in parental affection is seen in the following data on a boy of ten. This boy had been under social service supervision for a period of six years before he was sent for intensive psychiatric care. The boy's difficulties were first observed when he was four years old. At that time the parents reported that he was unmanageable and had many temper tantrums. He was especially defiant of authority. On many occasions he injured other children by throwing stones at them. He was also quarrelsome with other children, taking their toys and refusing to share his possessions with them. His behavior became worse as time went on. His father died when the boy was eight. He became so unmanageable that the mother sought aid from a social agency.

The boy was placed in a foster home by a social agency. Within two years he had been replaced five times in different foster homes and in each instance he was so unmanageable that the foster mothers requested his removal. In each instance he insisted on going back to his home and promised that he would behave well as soon as he could be with his mother. As soon as he returned, however, his difficulties reappeared. On several occasions he ran away from his mother's home and on these occasions he complained that his mother did not care much about him and that she was partial to his older brother and older sister. His mother reported that despite his egocentric behavior he had many fears. For example, he was fearful of dark places and especially of strangers who came into the house. On one occasion he told her that he imagined that dead people were hanging in the closet.

Since earliest childhood he seemed to be jealous of his mother's friends. He was especially jealous of the numerous men friends that his mother had (after her husband's death) and frequently concocted stories about them which were interpreted as an attempt to dissuade his mother from being with them. His mother began to go to dances two or three times a week a short time after her husband's death. The boy referred to her escorts as her "boy friends" and frequently complained that she was paying more attention to them than to him. He was especially antagonistic to his father's family and on one occasion when he was eight years old he told a story of various immoral practices of his paternal uncle and his paternal cousin. At the same time he was defensive of his mother's behavior, stating to his friends that she attended dances and movies because she needed entertainment for her health.

This boy's schooling was irregular. Although his intelligence was good (the I.Q. was approximately 120) he did fair or poor work in every subject. He was frequently expelled from school and his attendance was therefore irregular. The boy had no definite recreational interests. He was unable to participate in organized sports because of his quarrelsomeness and antagonism towards the other children.

The mother was twenty-two when the boy was born. In giving the history of the boy's behavior she told of her own unhappy experiences as a child and of her difficulties in her own home because of the strict discipline which her mother imposed upon her. Her parents treated her badly, rarely buying any clothes for her and giving her only the cast-off clothing of her older sister. When she was twelve years old she ran away from home and was returned by the police after an absence of two days. At the age of sixteen she began to work and turned over her entire wages to her parents. When she was seventeen she was referred to the Juvenile Court because she ran away from home. She was placed in a girls' club but because of many difficulties the matron refused to keep her. At the age of eighteen she married. Her marriage was not successful because of economic difficulties. Some five years after her marriage she obtained assistance from a social service agency because her husband refused to support her adequately. On several occasions the home was broken up and the three children placed with various relatives. Her husband's counter-claim was that she was going out every night with different men and leaving the children alone.

Immediately after her husband's death she complained to the social service agency that the children were too difficult for her and that she had never been able to discipline them. A housekeeper was placed in the home in order to allow her to work. The boy's mother, however, refused to cooperate in the care of the children and the housekeeper claimed that she entertained many men at dinner, and that she stayed out late at night and frequently all night. The housekeeper also stated that she neglected the children and considered them as intruders. When the children were placed in foster homes the mother apparently developed a sense of guilt. She frequently told the children that the social agency was to blame for their separation and that she would save all her money so that the family could be reunited. Nevertheless she paid little attention to their needs.

The boy also blamed the social agency for their separation. He told his friends that his mother was beautiful to him even in rags. On one occasion he told one of his mother's men friends, "If I ever see you kissing my mother you'll drop dead." Whenever he saw his mother he was unusually demonstrative but invariably during the visit scolded her and on one occasion kicked her because she refused to agree with him.

During the first few psychiatric interviews the boy was talkative and verbalized mostly about his mother. He told about the difficult times that she had, how she was saving money now in order to have the children back in the home, and how one of her men friends was trying to help her so that she could make a home again. He stated that the reason for his present placement outside of the home was because his mother was busy working. During the first few interviews he frequently paced the floor, and tics which had been present for several years appeared to be exaggerated. His tics consisted of the pulling of the mouth to one side, turning of the head and blinking of the eyes, simultaneously, or in quick succession. He complained of his treatment by the other children, how they teased him and refused to let him share their toys. The other children had complained about his behavior toward them and he stated that he hit them only because they would hit him anyway. He also complained about the inattention by adults. "Every time somebody from the social bureau makes friends with me somebody interferes and then he is no longer my friend."

The boy's reaction to new children or adults was usually friendly at first but invariably after a short period of acquaintance he became quarrelsome and complained of some injustice. On occasions he also complained about his mother's inattention to him and used profane words in describing her behavior with her men friends. A good deal of compulsive verbalization was also noticed ; frequently he began a sentence, stopped at a word, and then rhymed many other words with it. Occasionally he stopped in the middle of a sentence and asked, "What was I saying ?" or "What do you want ?" This behavior appeared at first to be a bid for attention, but it was probably compulsive in nature because it occurred even when he was speaking about his mother.

On one occasion a teacher had told him that he was seeking attention and he told the psychiatrist that he had never had attention from anyone and that he was too grown up for attention. Immediately after these statements he added that he wished he were home so that he could get attention from his mother. He then stated that his mother had never paid any real attention to him, that she was too busy with other people. "I am like a step-child to her."

The hostilities of this boy were obviously influenced by his attitudes towards his mother and his belief that she was rejecting him. Although he was anxious for his mother's affection he was also hostile to her. His hostilities were projected, however, towards others whom he constantly blamed for his difficulties, yet he could never specify his complaints. His antagonism towards other children and adults increased or waned according to the amount of attention his mother gave him.

FREQUENCY OF DELINQUENCY AND AGE

The greatest frequency of delinquency occurs at approximately the age of fourteen. The question arises whether this age period brings with it some intrinsic factors responsible for the increase in the frequency of delinquency. The variety of new problems which arise at the adolescent period may be important causative factors. The adolescent period brings with it desires for prestige, social recognition, and new experiences, desires which have been present previously but not in as intense a form. These desires are not easily attained, and mental conflicts frequently result from the many frustrations.

The attitudes of adults also change toward the child when he reaches adolescence. Although adults express a willingness to allow the adolescent more freedom than they had given him formerly they generally resist his attempts to diverge from his previous training. Parents often become alarmed at the attitudes of the adolescent boy, his sex interests and his lessened dependence upon them. In consequence they attempt to control his behavior by a variety of disciplinary measures and by instituting various types of social pressure. The conflicts resulting from the pressure of the parents on the one hand

and the adolescent's strong desires for self-expression on the other hand produce intense emotional tension.

Antisocial behavior is especially likely to be manifested by adolescents who have previously shown undesirable habits but whose behavior has not caused much difficulty. Studies have shown that a large number of delinquent adolescents have a history of antisocial behavior during early childhood. Apparently the innumerable problems which beset the adolescent, and the resulting conflicts, bring to the surface tendencies towards undesirable behavior which have hitherto remained under control.

OTHER ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Many other environmental factors have been considered significant as determinants of antisocial behavior. These factors may influence the development of attitudes and habits which lead to undesirable behavior or they may affect behavior indirectly through the arousal of mental conflicts.

One of the contributory factors to delinquency is, for example, poverty. As was mentioned previously, delinquency is much more frequent among children of families of low economic status than among children from well-to-do families. Some psychiatrists believe that the pressure of poverty stimulates children to steal in order to obtain desires otherwise unattainable. Children of poor parents are envious of the possessions of their more fortunate acquaintances, and they find that stealing is the only means in their power to obtain the equality they seek.

There is ample evidence, however, that poverty also affects children in many other ways. Children living under conditions of poverty often believe themselves thwarted in their attempts to obtain recognition. Ownership, whether of toys, clothing, money, and so on, is one of the chief means whereby both children and adults attain recognition from and equality with their fellowmen. The mental conflicts resulting from the constant thwarting of desires may result in a drive to gain possession of material things. Often it does not matter to the individual whether or not the objects he steals have any intrinsic value. Thus it is not uncommon for a child to steal articles which are of no use to him, or to hide them and not look for them again.

The attempt to obtain recognition and power is illustrated by the child who steals only to distribute the articles to other children. It is obvious that the other children pay more attention to the child from whom they obtain things, and admit him into their groups not only on a basis of equality but also as a superior individual. The granting of favors as a means of obtaining respect or affection is indeed a common method, employed not only by children but also by adults. The person who continually goes out of his way to do favors for various people probably has a sense of insecurity which he unconsciously attempts to solve by ingratiating himself to others. Doing favors for others is also a means of obtaining power, for while the individual previously has had a feeling that he has little to offer, the granting of favors makes others become dependent upon him.

The attainment of a sense of power through possessions is admirably illustrated in persons who accumulate wealth. Some persons deny themselves the comforts which their means could afford. They concentrate on the accumulation of money to the exclusion of other interests. Their sense of security is thus enhanced, as it well might be in the most normal person. But beyond mere security, their possession of money gives them a sense of power and superiority which they otherwise lack. Their original feeling of inferiority is thus compensated not only from the standpoint that they no longer need to depend upon others but also that they now are superior.

The accumulation of possessions as a means of compensation for personal insecurities thus is supposed to be a factor in the development of drives for materials or objects leading in some cases to stealing. Beyond the mere accumulation of objects or money, the delinquency enables the individual to free himself of his emotional tensions through the compulsive activity which sometimes characterizes the delinquent child who steals.

The different environmental conditions which are considered factors in antisocial behavior are intricately interrelated. In considering poverty as a factor, the elements involved in such a situation must be evaluated aside from the economic conditions.[10] Studies have shown, for example, that the children of families of low economic status are likely to receive erratic discipline. The mothers of such families are frequently employed, increasing the disorganization of the home. The intelligence of the parents is usually lower than that of parents of higher economic status, and their emotional attitudes are not conducive to emotional stability of their children. The parents tend to migrate frequently, and the children are forced to make frequent social and school readjustments. These and other aspects of poverty involve tensions which children of well-to-do families are not as likely to develop.

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[10] White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, The adolescent in the family, New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934, 107–115, 132–157.

REACTION TO PHYSICAL DEFECTS

Some observers have called attention to the relationship between physical disorders and abnormalities of behavior. Some writers have even attempted to formulate cause and effect relationships between glandular disfunction and personality disorders. That such relationships are frequently observed is not doubted, but the preponderance of evidence does not substantiate the occasional contention that each individual's personality is determined by his glandular balance.

Glandular disturbances have been shown to be important factors in causing behavior disorders. The disturbance of the physiological equilibrium frequently results in reactions which secondarily cause behavior disorders. A good example of this relationship is seen in hyperthyroidism. The resulting increase in the metabolic activity causes physical and mental hyperactivity. The accompanying restlessness may cause all sorts of difficulties. The hypersensitivity causes the hyperthyroid individual to respond in an irritable manner to stimuli which would ordinarily have little effect upon the normal person. Thus he is likely to be quarrelsome, negativistic and argumentative. He also frequently shows hostility in his reactions to minor frustrations.

Less is known about the relationship between the functions of the other endocrine glands and deviations of personality. Case histories occasionally appear in the literature showing a relationship, for example, between pituitary disorders and behavior abnormalities. In general, however, the facts are too scattered and the occasional theories are too unsubstantiated to be discussed here.

Attempts have also been made to find relationships between various physiological and chemical processes and personality disorders. The studies made by Rich[11] are examples of the better contributions in this field. Rich found a definite and positive correlation between emotional instability and the hydrogen-ion concentration of the saliva. The more excitable individuals tended to have less acid saliva. The more apathetic persons tended to excrete more acid in the urine than the emotionally excitable. He also found that the more excitable persons tend to have lower concentrations of creatinine in the blood. The various correlations were not high, however, and these relationships between body chemistry and personality deviations cannot be definitely stated as cause and effect.

Physical disorders which are disabling may have a significant effect upon behavior, depending upon the individual's ability to adjust to his relative isolation from ordinary activities and contacts. In physical disorders which result in brain pathology serious personality disorders may follow. When the regulatory and inhibitory influences of the cortex are interfered with the emotional and habit patterns of the individual may be seriously affected. In post-encephalitic conditions, for example, the organic injury to the brain results very often in emotional disequilibrium as well as changes in the skeletal musculature reactions. The emotional responses are exaggerated. Ordinary stimuli which would have but little effect upon the normal person result in uncontrolled emotional responses. The person becomes irritable, his angers are exaggerated and his inhibitions decreased. He may be amiable and affable at one instant and angry and uncontrollable the next. Because of the responses of his associates to his bad temper he is likely to become suspicious and rebellious. In addition to the effect of the organic brain disturbance, mental conflicts increase the individual's emotional and social disorientation.

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[11] Gilbert J. Rich, Some relationships between personality and body chemistry, Journal of neurology and psychopathology, 1933, 14, 132–138.

The personality and behavior disturbances observed in post-encephalitic conditions are exaggerated at times by the child's recognition of his physical defects. In these cases of progressive physical disability new conflicts continually arise because social and play adjustments become progressively difficult. Such increasing difficulties were observed in a fourteen-year-old girl who was sent to a special school because of her emotional instability. Her illness of epidemic encephalitis occurred when she was eight years old. She was ill for about three weeks, and apparently recovered completely. For two years she continued to be well, showing the same amiable disposition for which she was known previous to her illness. She was orderly, obedient, active mentally and socially. In brief, she was considered a model child. Some two years after her illness her parents noticed that she was irritable at times, especially in rebelling against ordinary discipline. Her parents also noticed that she did not get along well with her friends. She quarreled and fought with them. In school, her teachers were unable to obtain her cooperation.

Within six months after the first emotional disturbances were observed, physical symptoms developed, characteristic of a post-encephalitic condition. Her face assumed a mask-like expression, her gait was awkward, her left arm and leg showed spasticity. Gradually her left arm and hand lost their normal function and hung by her side. She was forced to forego the invitation of her playmates to take part in their games, and she tended to blame her mother for her invalidism.

When the girl entered the special school she attempted to take part in the usual play activities. Because it was realized that she would be obviously maladjusted if she attempted to compete with the physically normal children, it was arranged with one of the nurses to give her special duties. She thus attained a given status among the other pupils. She was thwarted as little as possible in her angers and was subjected to very little discipline. Her behavior improved quickly, but her physical condition became worse. She became less able to walk without aid, yet refused help.

The child's irritability and angers returned as her physical disability increased. She tried to dominate some of the other children. She insisted upon giving directions during games in which she herself could not participate. At times she attacked the children who displeased her, scratching and kicking them. She also complained of other children teasing her and of discrimination against her by the adults.

From the neurologic and psychiatric observations of this girl it was obvious that her emotional disturbance was in part due to her reaction to her physical defects. She became aware of her inferiority to the other children despite the encouragement from the adults. She also rebelled against the attempts made to make her accept her physical condition. She found nothing through which she could compensate for her defects, and she gradually lost status among her fellow-pupils. Because she was only of average intelligence, compensation through academic achievement was impossible. It was also impossible to train her in manual talents.

Other physical defects have been shown to have some bearing upon the development of undesirable behavior. In most cases, however, the physical defect is only indirectly related to the consequent behavior, in the sense that the individual's evaluation of himself determines his emotional pattern. Some children make an adequate adjustment to a physical defect which interferes with participation in ordinary activities. By a process of compensatory behavior, or in other ways, many children with physical defects create new interests and new forms of self-expression which make it unnecessary for them to compete with other children in physical activities. Others, however, are unable to overcome their feelings of inferiority, and their constant envy and resentment are likely to result in retaliatory and destructive behavior.

In the case of one boy of eleven, of superior intelligence, antisocial behavior was related to his attempt to gain recognition otherwise impossible because of a serious physical defect. He had little use of his left arm and the movements of his left leg were impaired. The partial paralysis followed within three months an illness at the age of nine. As a small child he had shown no undesirable behavior except for disobedience of his parents. Within a short time after the onset of his paralysis significant personality changes were observed. He became rebellious at home and unmanageable at school. He created difficulties for his teachers by his frequent quarreling and fighting with his fellow-pupils. He was known for his bad temper and on several occasions attacked children on little provocation. His parents could no longer handle him when he became delinquent and he was threatened with arrest. He had stolen some articles from a department store and on one occasion a box of spark plugs from a garage.

The boy was sent to a boarding school. At first he obeyed the general rules and was consistent in attending the classes. He showed an unusual interest in mechanical apparatus and read magazines and books describing mechanical objects. His interest in his possessions was fleeting, however. As an example, he bought a second-hand radio and within two days destroyed it. He constantly attempted, however, to impress the other children with his possessions and with his knowledge. Unfortunately the boys of his own age refused to be impressed with him. One of the boys was attending high school and because of this attained a good deal of prestige. This caused much difficulty. The patient complained about him, and stated that he was trying to bully him. He also stated that this high school boy had talked against him and had taken away his friends. In time his behavior became more disturbing. He then shifted his attention to several younger children. He dominated them by force and threatened them when they did not obey him. His attitude towards the adults also changed. He complained of the lack of attention given him and of the difference between the adults at school and at home.

The behavior of this boy was obviously related to his attitudes toward his physical defect. On many occasions he had stated that the other children were making fun of him and thought they were "smart" because they could play ball and other games whereas he could not. His attempts at domination were carried out in part by the attention he received for his mechanical interests and in part by his aggressive behavior. Unfortunately it was impossible to influence him into accepting his academic success as a form of superiority. This inability to compensate through intellectual superiority was due to the attitudes of the other boys who considered such achievement not as undesirable but certainly not as significant as athletic or other abilities. Indeed, his very intellectual superiority probably added to his sensitivity to his defect and his inability to accept substitute achievement. By disturbing his parents, teachers and the other pupils he found a quick and efficient method of achieving recognition. The punishment that had been given him by his parents did not deter him, but on the contrary was an added incentive to further antisocial behavior. The punishment made him in part rebellious, and possibly also acted as a method of absolving him of the sense of guilt of his previous unsanctioned behavior.

In the case of the behavior of the boy just described, the antisocial behavior was aggressive in part as a compensatory method of obtaining attention and recognition and in part as a reaction of hostility. The hostility manifested in domination and quarreling and fighting was probably of compulsive origin related to his conflicts of inferiority. As some psychiatrists have described such behavior, the hostility served as a mechanism of retribution. In some cases the individual believes that those in his immediate environment are in some vague way responsible for his misfortunes. Retributive behavior follows, manifested in argumentativeness, quarreling, fighting, disturbing in some way the comforts of others, or in destructive behavior. The destructive behavior usually follows a long period of other forms of hostility when the child recognizes that the attention and recognition he seeks are not forthcoming. The destructive behavior appears as if it were some final effort at disturbing the persons who are in authority, although the child appears to act compulsively in a state of partial dissociation. In most cases, however, the child has perfect memory for these periods of destructive behavior. There is usually no attempt at denial, and he merely justifies himself, blaming other individuals or his condition for his behavior.

In the type of destructive behavior due to a dissociative process in which the activity is entirely compulsive, exact memory for the specific event is often clouded. The child remembers only given items and there is a good deal of distortion. The distortion of memory may be due to rationalization, but probably not altogether, because the phenomenon is quite constant.

In some instances children show behavior of a retreating type as one of the reactions to a physical inferiority. This type of behavior does not come to the foreground as dramatically as aggressive behavior and is therefore frequently overlooked. Such behavior is characterized as asocial rather than antisocial and little attention is generally paid to it. Nevertheless, the basic personality disorder may be quite as serious. The reason that some children show the retreat instead of the aggressive mechanism probably can be accounted for in given experiences and subtle attitudes developed in early life. But of the specific cause or causes for such differences little is known and only approximate guesses can be made.

It is obvious that behavior which involves only retreat from normal social activities will not cause much difficulty. But such retreat is usually only the basis for later antisocial behavior, that is, it is at times only transient and represents a flight from the problems which the child is unable to face. Even the relatively simple social organization to which a child is required to adjust does not allow him to retreat indefinitely.

The attitudes and activities of the other children in his environment inevitably force him to aggressive activity, at times in his very attempt to isolate himself from them, and often as an expression of opposition. He loses friends because of his timidity in entering into their activities, and thereafter resents the forthcoming criticism. He may complain not only of the lack of friendship but also of real or imagined discrimination against him. In retaliation he may become a "nuisance" to the other children, interfering in many ways with them, taking advantage of their mistakes by criticism. He "spies" on them and reports their misdeeds to parents and teachers, often exaggerating to such a degree that adults also lose confidence in him. If he is accepted temporarily by the other children he soon is sure to be expelled from their activities because of his finickiness and his antagonistic attitude which results in much complaining. Unwilling to remain away from the prevailing activities of others, he again begins to demand entrance, often ingratiating himself to the point of evoking sympathy whereby he is again admitted to the play circle. The cycle then perhaps begins again, of unacceptable behavior, ostracism, complaints, subtle and ingenious bids for reacceptance, and finally readmission. In the end, however, he is forced to seek the protection and sympathy of adults. If, by accident or guidance, he can develop a compensatory skill or activity, he may adapt himself acceptably.

In the schoolroom such a child is likely to interfere with the routine by interrupting the recitations of the other children. He tends to evade responsibility, asks innumerable questions and requires more than his share of attention from his teachers. This usually evokes the insistence by adults that ordinary disciplinary measures be obeyed. Ideas of persecution may follow (no paranoia need be involved) and the child is thus further hampered in maintaining an amiable and yet independent relationship with those in authority. In some cases a rebellious attitude manifests itself in numerous complaints. The child believes that he is treated unfairly, and that those in authority single him out for disciplinary action and that his behavior is justified in view of the supposed attitudes of the adults towards him.

The type of behavior resembling the foregoing description was seen in a boy of twelve whose difficulties appeared to be related to a physical inferiority due to a birth injury. This injury resulted in defective use of the right arm and leg. The defect was not observable until he attempted to engage in some act requiring skill or precision. He had learned to write and to perform other acts with his left arm and hand, but could not adjust to activities requiring both hands. His parents stated that he had been overprotected and sheltered as a young child. He could not adapt himself to the few playmates he had because of his domineering attitude and his irritability. He had many temper tantrums which were treated by humoring him. The parents protected him from contact with other children and were oversolicitous in their personal treatment of him.

When this boy was examined psychiatrically he was sullen and uncooperative. He complained of the treatment by his teachers. He stated that they refused to protect him from the other boys who beat him and refused to allow him to participate in their games. His teachers reported, however, that he refused to cooperate with the other boys. He insisted on formulating his own rules for the games, and constantly quarreled because he was supposedly not treated fairly. He also insisted on being allowed to play difficult games, such as baseball, although the defective hand made it impossible to handle a baseball effectively. His teachers also reported that he rarely volunteered to recite in the classroom but frequently interrupted the recitations of others to make corrections. Frequently he accosted his teacher after school hours in order to continue arguments and to complain to her that she did not give him a chance to show the other school children that he knew his lessons.

In the psychiatric treatment of this boy an attempt was made to give him compensatory activities. It was believed that some special interest or skill might give him an opportunity to counteract his feelings of inferiority. He also required some occupation since he had little to do after school hours. After much experimentation, he was placed in a glee club. Some improvement in his school behavior was noticed thereafter. He boasted to the other children about his ability to sing, but he annoyed them less than he had formerly. His superiority in singing did not eliminate, but did reduce the intensity of his conflicts of inferiority regarding his defects and his inability to compete with other boys. It was believed, however, that his conflicts were gradually being solved by his increasing confidence in his skill in singing and by his increasing ability to maintain status and recognition. His complaining and quarrelsomeness decreased, but he made few friends due to his sullen attitudes and his egocentricity. Specific treatment was directed towards making him accept his defect without need of apologizing for it or of blaming himself or his parents for his condition.

Many psychiatrists claim that the only effective method of solving conflicts of inferiority is to reorient the individual's attitudes towards his defects. On the other hand, experience has shown that although this is possible frequently in the case of adults it is not so readily accomplished in the case of children. Physical competition is much more important in the everyday activity of children than of adults and any defect unfavorably differentiates the child from the others. It is possible also that adults accept their defects through a process of rationalization or because of persuasion and suggestion by the therapist. Although children also rationalize their difficulties and defects they are unable to do so as readily as adults. The compensatory activities of adults through which they frequently overcome conflicts of inferiority regarding physical defects are more effective than those of children. Adults have a wider range of possibilities of compensatory behavior than children and their values are more intangible. Since children compete openly with others at or near their own age, a physical defect is of much greater importance than a similar defect in an adult. Because of the relative physical inactivity of adults, compensatory activities are numerous and because of the great physical activity of children in their everyday behavior, compensatory activities which depend but little upon physical fitness are difficult to find.

The fact that girls with physical defects adjust themselves with less difficulty than boys with similar defects shows the importance of activity as a factor of the adjustment of boys. Of the children observed with a physical defect, only one girl showed conflicts which could be traced to her attitude towards her defective condition. In the other cases the girls appeared to accept their defects and compensated for their lacks.

In the case of one eleven-year-old girl who was seriously handicapped by the consequences of an infantile cerebral palsy, an emotional orientation was effected quickly through the development of an interest in social relationships which did not involve physical activity. Interest in handwork also helped in her orientation although she had great difficulty in performing well. Her emotional problems arose when she was eight years old and when her brother was four. She complained to the parents that her brother was the favorite child, pointing to the fact that they took him along on visits to friends and on trips. Her suspicions of, and her attitudes towards, her parents resulted in quarrelsomeness and irritability. She demanded excessive attention and insisted that she go everywhere with her parents. Her conflicts of inferiority were first treated by placing her in a situation with a group of children who also had physical defects. She thus was able to see that her handicap was not a personal problem. She was also able to compete with them better than she had previously with children who were perfectly normal. Within a short time after her placement, she spoke spontaneously of her physical defect with little, if any, of her previous emotional reactions when this problem was mentioned.

The attitudes of adults toward her defect were also changed. Previously the parents had been oversolicitous of her, had carefully watched her diet and had supervised her activities. They thus made her aware of her disabilities and her conflicts were probably intensified. In the new regime, little was said about her physical defects and her supervision was reduced to a minimum. Her antisocial behavior manifested previously in irritability and destructiveness, which was probably compulsive in nature, changed to amiability, in part probably because her attention was no longer focussed upon her inferiorities. Whether the process of treatment in this case can be said to be a true solution of conflicts, or whether she had been merely outwardly adjusted to her conflicts, cannot be definitely decided. It was significant in this case, however, that her behavior continued to be of an acceptable nature during the time of her observation, some sixteen months.

ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR RESULTING FROM SEX CONFLICTS

MENTION was made previously of the results of studies by Healy regarding the relationship between compulsive behavior due to conflicts and the resulting antisocial behavior. Healy, and others, showed that the repression of sex conflicts often causes a child to manifest his emotional tension by compulsive behavior which takes the form of delinquent acts. Delinquent activities may be substitutive acts, manifesting themselves because of previous association with a sex experience the memory of which has been repressed. A child who has had an experience of stealing combined with some sex experience of an emotionally traumatic nature may later manifest compulsive stealing as an expression of his sex conflict.

In some cases delinquent behavior may result from the individual's inability to express his sex conflicts. The delinquent acts may function as mechanisms of protest against imagined or real hostility by his parents or by other adults against the previous or present sex activity or interests. The mechanism of hostility resulting in antisocial behavior is frequently observed in the adolescent boy who is homosexually fixated. His affectional fixation upon other boys and men is a source of conflict and results in part in an attempt at negation of his attitudes. In other words, the boy is affectionally drawn towards other boys and men ; but realizing the attitudes of society towards such behavior and especially the attitudes of his parents, he attempts to negate his intrinsic feelings. The attempt at the negation of his emotional identifications may result in hostile attitudes.

Hostility and antisocial behavior developed through this mechanism are well illustrated in the following account of a boy of fourteen. He was referred for psychiatric care because it was difficult to get along with him in his home and he was also a problem at school. Various methods were used by his parents in order to obtain his cooperation but none was successful. When his behavior became difficult at the age of ten, they attempted to control him by severe disciplinary measures. They also used coercion and bribery, but his behavior became continually worse. He was talkative and active, and continually interfered with the conversations of his parents or visitors by telling them about his exploits and about a number of inventions in which he was interested. His maladjustment at school was also due partly to his attempts to impress those with whom he came in contact with his genius as an inventor. On one occasion, for example, he reported at length in the classroom about his invention to drive locomotives with liquid air. He explained the fact that liquid air evaporates at room temperature. Thus by connecting a hose from the liquid air to the driving wheels, he would dispense with the need for coal and steam. He repeated this statement on many occasions for about a week and then announced that he had still another and better invention. He was also quarrelsome and frequently engaged in fights with other boys. Generally he selected the younger boys to quarrel with although on occasions he also fought with boys of his own age and size. In conversation with his parents he had frequently told them that most boys are weak and cannot stand up for their own rights, and yet he insisted that he was not given the proper opportunity either at home or at school in order that he might advance.

This boy was one of three children and as a young child was the favorite of the mother. She frequently protected him from punishment by the father and the boy in turn became attached to her. When he was about seven, his attachment for his mother began to be lessened and he became attached to his brother, five years older than he. He played with him constantly, ran his errands, and talked with his friends about his brother's physical strength. The boy stated, however, that his brother was always mean to him and yet he never disliked him for his behavior. His brother frequently beat him and on many occasions spanked him. His father was also gruff with him. Whenever he irritated his father he received a hard slap on the back of his neck. So he wanted to beat other boys. He stated that he wanted to make a strong whip out of leather and beat some of the boys with it. He himself enjoyed being hurt by his father and his brother and he believed that he would do the other boys good by beating them. Whenever he hit another boy he had a good deal of pleasure, "a sort of tingling all over me." He also stated that at times he had the same sort of feeling when he saw other boys fighting.

After many interviews he gave the information that as a boy of seven or eight he became accustomed to sex play with his older brother. Sometimes he felt ashamed of this behavior, but he always believed that he was not guilty of doing anything wrong since he always trusted his brother, and still did. He always had a great admiration for his brother, and even when he was being hurt by him he did not lose respect for him.

In the case of this boy several problems must be considered in the explanation of his hostile and antisocial behavior. His intense affectional attachment to his mother as a child and the transference of his attachment to his older brother contained significant implications of his sex fixation. His idealization of his brother and his acceptance and even pleasure of his brother's punishment of him were part of his sex expression. In the same way he obtained pleasurable satisfaction, sexual in nature, from the punishment by his father. His behavior and his report of his "feelings" when he punished the other boys also corroborate the sex basis of the self-punishment and the punishment of others. In his own words, he was thrilled even at the thought of beating some of the other children. His masturbation, which began at about the age of eleven, was most frequently accompanied by imagery of beating other boys. His parents were aware of his masturbation, had scolded him on many occasions, and had attempted to impress him with the fact that serious results would follow if he continued his behavior. In consequence, conflicts arose regarding his sex satisfactions. Realizing that he should like to admit that his affection centered around other boys and men, his awareness of the problem led to his attempts at negating his sex desires. In part, therefore, his hostility was a negation of his sex satisfactions and transferred itself to situations other than those in which his problems arose. His attitudes regarding his abilities as an inventor and his constant assertion that he was not given a chance to succeed, are evidences of paranoid-like reactions seen frequently in the homosexual individual, especially in the individual who does not fully accept his method of sex satisfaction. His attempts to impress others with his importance may have been protests against the implication that he lacked masculinity, that he was not like other boys, especially as related to his parents' threats that he would grow up a weakling if he continued his masturbation. Thus, also, his statements that he had been a weakling as a child but now was going to behave "hard as nails" may have been a protest against his unconscious belief that he was, in a sense, "feminine."

Delinquent behavior has been observed in children as a means of absolving themselves of a sense of guilt associated with sex conflicts. The punishment that the child receives because of his delinquencies functions in absolving him, at least temporarily, of his sense of guilt. During early childhood every individual learns that he is absolved of blame for wrongdoing by punishment. The child who becomes involved in some undesirable behavior, who takes part in some delinquent act, or who displeases his parents, realizes that he is forgiven for his guilt through punishment. Indeed, punishment has publicly become recognized as a means of expiation for guilt. Sentences are meted out in the courts for offenses presumably on the basis of the severity of the offense, that is, on the basis of the amount of guilt involved. Fines and prison sentences are often commuted on the basis that the culprit has suffered sufficiently for his misdeeds. Punishments are imposed theoretically for the purpose of deterring the culprit from further delinquent acts. It is well known, however, that the very punishment which is supposed to deter actually often functions as a stimulus to further delinquencies by removing a sense of guilt. This in turn causes such individuals to continue their delinquencies as a further reaction to their suffering at the hands of society.

A good example of the function of punishment in furthering delinquency was observed in the case of a boy of twelve who had been arrested a number of times before he was recommended for psychiatric study. His parents had punished him severely for his delinquencies, often unjustifiably when they had but scant evidence. The boy's undesirable behavior began when he was seven years old. At that time his parents discovered that he had been taking part in sex play with several other boys of his age. They also discovered that he had been stealing money from the house. He frequently admitted his delinquencies without much pressure from his parents. His mother stated that he took his punishment "like a man," rarely complaining. But he immediately reverted to his undesirable behavior despite punishment.

In telling his story to the psychiatrist the boy stated that he "could not help himself," that he frequently made up his mind never to steal but "found himself" stealing again. He stated also that his parents were good to him and that he did not mind being punished. After two weeks of psychiatric study he complained to the psychiatrist that his parents acted differently towards him. "They act funny, they don't do anything to me even if I steal." Further statements by the boy showed that he was concerned about the attitudes of his parents because they no longer punished him as they had done previously.

Apparently the removal of punishment increased his sense of guilt regarding his stealing and especially regarding his sex behavior. His feelings of guilt probably thus increased. His parents also reported that he seemed concerned regarding their attitudes towards him, whether they still liked him or whether they were angry with him. According to his mother he appeared more nervous, talked a great deal and seemed eager to impress her with his good behavior. Nevertheless, his behavior did not improve. Indeed, he began to steal from the school, and on one occasion was caught with a pocketknife belonging to a classmate. It is probable that he began stealing from his school mates instead of his home because his sense of guilt in regard to his parents had been increased by their failure to punish him.

DISSOCIATIVE AND COMPULSIVE BEHAVIOR

Reference has been made several times previously to some forms of antisocial behavior resulting from compulsive activity. Studies of children have shown that compulsive behavior is characterized by confusion in which the child at first is not clearly aware of his reactions but later frequently develops rationalizations to explain his behavior. Thus some children who behave compulsively, and therefore become socially maladjusted, blame their behavior upon others, especially upon the supposed antagonistic reactions of others. Psychiatrists rarely make reference to the problems of dissociation among children because the condition has been identified with the mental abnormalities of youth and adults and is seen most frequently in the psychoses. In the few studies that have been made of the mental abnormalities of children, dissociation has been observed, but neither parents nor psychiatrists generally look for dissociative conditions in children when the outward behavior is merely one of social maladjustment.

In its first manifestation mental dissociation frequently appears as an emotional blocking in which the individual acts as if he were constantly frustrated. As the dissociation continues, the individual becomes aware of these blockings and he becomes confused in his behavior. Such a process has been reported during the first stages of the development of schizophrenic-like conditions in children.[12] When the dissociation does not progess rapidly, the behavior, instead of appearing as a mental confusion, often manifests itself in compulsive behavior. This compulsive behavior frequently takes the form of hostility and destructiveness. The hostility is sometimes verbalized and at other times remains unverbalized but manifests itself in quarrelsomeness, antagonism and hostile reactions towards the persons in the individual's immediate environment. Such children characteristically show vacillation of behavior, that is, they may appear to be normal and well adjusted for a short time and then quite suddenly become irritable and antagonistic.

Confusional and compulsive behavior on the basis of mental dissociation was observed in the case of a boy of nine who was referred for psychiatric care because of his destructiveness at home. This boy was apparently normal until he reached the age of seven, when the parents noticed that he became quarrelsome and antagonistic to them. He took issue with their disciplinary measures and refused to obey the simplest directions. Gradually his behavior became worse and his destructiveness took the form of breaking his toys and of severe temper tantrums during which he destroyed many objects in the house. He was especially antagonistic to his father, quarreled with him, spontaneously started arguments, and used profane language. He adjusted fairly well to his schoolmates but on occasion began fights with them and he was generally feared by children of his own age. The parents noticed also that he often talked to himself and frequently carried on conversations about imaginary conditions. They noticed that he was unable to carry on a consistent conversation, frequently interposed irrelevant material, and at times raised his voice to a shout. While he talked about one subject he frequently interposed questions about an entirely different subject, and without waiting for an answer changed the conversation again. The parents reported that for perhaps as long as a week he might be perfectly normal and then quite suddenly revert to the behavior just described. Rewards, coercion, and punishment were of little benefit and they finally decided to seek psychiatric help. His first question when his father left the room was, "Do you have big guns here? I used to shoot rifles and my brother and I killed a lot of wild animals with machine guns." He then spoke about his uncle who owned a ranch with "one hundred thousand cows" and how he used to go out there and catch them with ropes and sometimes shoot them. Then followed rapid talk about his brother, how they wrestled together and how he always won over his brother. When questioned about his mother he at first hesitated and then stated that "She is all right but she wants me to do too many things." When asked whether his father allowed him to do anything he wanted, he said, "What, that stuffed elephant out there? He can't do anything to me."

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[12] Mandel Sherman and Bert I. Beverly, Hallucinations in children, Journal of abnormal psychology and social psychology, 1924, 19, 165–170.

In the subsequent interviews the boy spoke as freely and as cooperatively as he had on the first occasion. He usually began the interviews by talking about his brother, how he wrestled with him and how he usually beat him up, although they were good friends. He never referred spontaneously to his parents or his sister, and at times, when he was questioned about his parents, he refused to talk further and sometimes said, "They're all right, don't bother me about them." During the first six weeks of interviewing, he generally began with statements about his relatives. During these discussions his attention often shifted and at times he changed abruptly from one story, such as shooting animals, to another, such as wrestling with his brother.

When he was telling his stories, his tics seemed to increase and consisted of blinking, shaking of his head from side to side, and twisting of his mouth. At times his speech became "explosive," that is, quite suddenly his voice was raised to a shout without any reference to the examiner. At other times he suddenly stopped his conversation and stated that he preferred to leave.

For approximately one month following the initial interview, the conversation concerned his brother, nearly always dealt with personal combats with him and with exploits in connection with hunting or fishing. He talked in "numbers" when discussing his exploits, always emphasizing the number of animals he killed, or the number of fish he caught. At times he stopped his conversation and changed his statement regarding the exact number he mentioned previously, as if he were concerned with a precise report.

Following approximately the first month of therapy, it was observed that his tics decreased a great deal, and his reactions to the examiner changed. He began to tell "funny" stories and to play with objects instead of verbalizing. It was felt that this reaction may have been a form of resistance against the examiner in a way to avoid verbalization about his problems.

During the next month, although his conversation about his exploits in hunting and fishing and other activities still continued, he made less extravagant statements, that is, instead of talking about one hundred thousand cattle or ten thousand wild animals, he talked in terms of hundreds. On one occasion, for example, he asked the examiner how many animals he had told he had killed the previous day. Then he stated that he wanted to correct that, that he had only killed maybe fifty or five hundred, and that perhaps he dreamed about the other thousands.

During this time, time and number orientation was confused. His conversation had elements of "word salad" and also flight of ideas, although the details of the discrete ideas were connected. For example, on one occasion he asked how much a horse cost since he "had ridden thousands of cowboy horses and also knew a stable near-by." Then he said that he had forty-five cents but he knew one horse which cost $100,000. "Anyway, a boy told me that you can get a small horse for two hundred dollars." The conversation regarding the horse continued in this fashion and then changed to a discussion of how he could get thousands of horses on his uncle's ranch.

Following a period of two months it was observed that his discussions during the psychiatric interviews became more related to his everyday activities. He talked of what he had done on the particular day or on the previous day but generally managed to say something about his uncle or brother or his past exploits. Concomitant with this change in the conversation during the interviews his reactions to the other boys showed a current interest. When he first came to the school he did not participate in the games, preferring to watch the others play. His participation in the activities of the other boys gradually increased and he became less isolated.

The decrease of interest in the discussion of his exploits was also noticed in his reactions to the teachers and other adults, although he was encouraged to speak about any subject he chose. In spite of this improvement he often behaved as if in a compulsive way, suddenly stopping his task and interpolating irrelevant material. On one occasion, for example, he was reading his lesson to his teacher when he stopped and asked her if she liked to fish. When the teacher replied in the affirmative, he said, "I want you to go fishing with me on my uncle's ship." This interpolation of subject matter distant from the interests at hand gradually decreased, however.

His usage of words and the ideas he brought out were at times irrelevant. Mention was already made of his statements about the horse that cost two thousand dollars but that he had forty-five cents and he could probably buy one. On one occasion he asked his teacher whether she hit her dog. Then he stated, "I hit my dog with a stick or a sword or a chair and he doesn't care, he just laughs." On another occasion he said that one day a cow kicked him right in the face and "I socked him in the face but I didn't knock him down." In referring to the dog he said on another occasion, "If I buy a wild horse I could get a cowboy suit for the dog and for myself and the dog and I could sing cowboy songs."

It was observed early in the contacts with the boy that he appeared to have a time disorientation. When he was asked the number of days in a week he promptly answered "Seven," and when he was asked the number of weeks in a month, he gave the correct answer. After a lapse of ten or fifteen minutes he was then asked whether he would rather go on a vacation for three weeks or for ten days. He said "ten days, because ten is bigger than three." Evidence of other disorientation or dissociation was obtained. On one occasion, for instance, he asked if the boys could spend a half hour at the beach. He was told that they were to spend a full hour there. He objected, saying that he would rather be there longer. When the worker asked him how long he would rather be there, he said for a half hour or twenty minutes. On another occasion he held a cue stick alongside of him and measured his height by placing his hand at the level of the top of his head and then asked, "Is this my age?" Other evidences of time disorientation were his forgetting of the days of the week, that is, when he was asked the day of the week he often mentioned another day. He also often made statements like the following: "I think I'll go home yesterday or tomorrow." Such statements were apparently made in good faith.

Evidence of dissociative behavior was also observed when he was alone, and therefore could not be attempting to obtain attention, as he might have done on other occasions. Observations made when he did not know that anyone was watching him showed a number of instances of his pacing up and down the room and talking loudly. This talking usually referred to himself, such as "I'll go over there," and so on, but the exact statements could not be heard.

Flaws in judgment were frequently observed. A good example was his request to play tennis out-of-doors during a heavy rain. Whether this indicates lack of judgment or lapses in his ideational processes due to emotional blocking is difficult to decide. There was some evidence that this behavior may have been due to blocking. For example, he generally read well but on some occasions he substituted words which were irrelevant to the ideas in the passages he read. In reading a sentence which contained a statement about "blackberry bushes without thorns" he read, "blackberry bushes without stones"; and in the very next sentence, he read, "beautiful rose-colored fruit" as "beautiful rose-colored paper."

Antisocial behavior as a result of compulsive activity cannot be treated as directly as ordinary delinquent behavior. The child is relatively far removed from an understanding of his acts. In part, he does not understand clearly the social problems in which his behavior involves him. For this reason discussion of his behavior difficulties does not easily reach his underlying conflicts.

Antisocial behavior often develops as a by-product of a dissociative condition, that is, the antisocial behavior does not have a functional significance from the standpoint of the child's conflicts. The undesirable behavior is probably the result of the confusion of the child and his consequent inability to attend to directions and to the routine which is expected of him. Consequently, the child is likely to behave in ways which are undesirable and to appear to be disobedient and incorrigible. As an example, truancy from home and school is one of the common accompaniments of a dissociative condition. The child wanders away in his confusion and the parents and teachers tend to discipline such a child and to impose social pressures to force him to abide by regulations and to cooperate in the routines. It is natural that the antisocial behavior, whether it is incorrigibility, truancy, disobedience or delinquency, will be noticed quickly and will be considered the important problem.

As already stated, it is important to notice that the particular form of undesirable behavior does not have the same relationship to the personality functions of such a child as it does to the normal child who expresses his emotional tensions or his attempts to solve his conflicts through the antisocial behavior. It is also significant that the frequency and undesirability of the antisocial behavior of such children decrease as they deteriorate emotionally and mentally. The deterioration causes an increasing withdrawal and greater amenability to the disciplinary measures of parents. This seems to be true not only in the cases of children whose disorientation is unaccompanied by the symptoms ordinarily observed in adults but also in the cases of adolescents and youths whose disorientation continues until a definite mental abnormality develops. It has been observed, for example, that some functional mental abnormalities first appear in late adolescence and in youth as perplexity and mental disorientation. This perplexity first manifests itself by lack of attention and inability to concentrate. As the condition progresses, the individual complains that he is unable to remember well, his interest in external objects and conditions decreases, and he becomes intensely involved in problems and attitudes which take up his entire time. Outsiders at first complain that such individuals lose interest and do not pay the proper attention to social relationships. These individuals also appear to lose their ambition because their participation decreases in everyday affairs in which the normal individual is keenly interested.

Frequently the asocial behavior is interspersed with antisocial acts. These antisocial acts often result from the rebellious reaction to the pressure which is imposed by adults in the attempt to reorient the individual's interests and behavior. The rebellious acts may take the form of incidental truancies or of running away from home. Frequently they take the form of quarrelsomeness and retaliative fighting. In time, however, as the dissociation continues, the individual's symptoms become systematized and the withdrawal which follows is soon recognized as a mental abnormality. In those cases where mental abnormality is the basis for asocial or antisocial behavior, the individual rarely complains actively about the attitudes of others or of the adults' treatment of him. It is probable that the process of withdrawal makes the individual either uninterested in the attitudes and reactions of the outside world or makes him less and less aware of the significance of social attitudes and relationships. In effect this is the process of loss of identity of reality ; the individual is no longer closely identified with the activities and the meanings of the outside world.

Undesirable behavior as unrelated activity in the process of dissociation was observed in a boy of fourteen. The undesirable behavior began when he was six but did not become serious, at least in so far as the school and the parents were concerned, until he was approximately fourteen. The parents stated that the boy developed normally, began walking at the age of fifteen months and spoke well at about the age of two years. Previous to the age of six, nothing of importance was noted except occasional fears. Immediately after the boy's entrance into a kindergarten, at the age of six, the parents noticed that he was "nervous." He was unable to play well with the other children because he refused to be friendly. The father disliked him even at that time because he seemed to be selfish. He wanted things his own way and refused to compromise with others. He stayed in kindergarten six months and then entered first grade. He passed his grades regularly until the fourth, when he failed. The teacher stated that his scholarship was satisfactory but he seemed to be nervous and they were therefore reluctant to advance him for fear that his nervousness might increase. He passed into the next grade, however, within six months, but at the age of twelve, when he was in the sixth grade, the parents noticed that he was unusually "nervous" and had begun to stammer. The stammering had occurred previously but not in a continuous form. At this time the boy began to lose interest in his school, failing to pay attention to the routine of the schoolroom, and began to be disobedient at home. The parents noticed that he was not playing with the other children and that he preferred to be alone. Often the parents found him holding a book or a newspaper, but not reading. At this time the boy developed characteristics which irritated his parents. For example, he arranged and rearranged the furniture in his room many times during a day. He also went about the house picking up bits of paper and dirt with the explanation that he could not stand dirt. They also noticed that he repeated an activity many times before he was satisfied. As an example, he buttoned and unbuttoned his shirt so many times that the buttons were torn off. The father tried to correct him by discipline, but with no results. The boy became slow in his reactions and the mother finally began to dress him in the mornings so that he could get to school on time.

Between the ages of twelve and fourteen he was a truant from school on many occasions. When questioned regarding his truancy he said that something came into his head and he wanted to look at the big buildings some distance from his school, and before he could return to the school it was already noon. On one occasion he wandered away from his parents when they were in a store and did not return home until late that evening. The police took him home on one occasion when they found him wandering about, not knowing where he was.

The psychiatric examination revealed many signs of a disoriented condition. He had many mannerisms, such as irregular movements of the facial muscles. Although he seemed to be cooperative in the interviews he was unable to tell much about himself. He stated that he could not get along with his parents although they were very good to him, and that the other boys at school teased him and picked on him. When it was seen that he was unable to speak spontaneously, he was questioned regarding his behavior. To the question of his tearing off the buttons he stated that he liked to be neat and as a result he wanted to be sure that his shirts were buttoned properly. He picked up the papers on the floor because he did not like a dirty house. He stated that he frequently missed school but he did not want to do so; he merely wanted to see other things also. Sometimes he did not know exactly where his school was after he left home and at those times he just walked around. The boy told of many phantasies that he had and gave information which indicated experiences hallucinatory in nature. His greatest difficulty was that people did not leave him alone.

In school the teacher insisted that he do many things that he did not like and at home the parents were always scolding him for one thing or another. He stated that he would not have quarreled with his friends and parents as much as he did if they had not insisted on having their way with him. He wanted to be a singer or an artist later on and knew that if he could do the things he liked he would be much better off than just going to school.

In the behavior of the boy just described it is seen that many of his actions which were categorized as disobedience and incorrigibility were not "active" processes. The behavior was "accidental" in the sense that it did not have the significance in terms of the boy's active problems and conflicts that it might have in the ordinary child.

APPENDIX

SUGGESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION AND FURTHER READING

CHAPTER I

The theories of innate drives are intimately related to the theories of human instincts. It is well, therefore, to be informed on the history of the instinct theory, especially on the present concepts. In addition to the literature on the history of psychology, see John B. Watson, Behavior, An introduction to comparative psychology, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1914, pp. 439; J. F. Dashiell, Foundations of objective psychology, New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928, pp. 588; Harvey A. Carr. Psychology, A study of mental activity, New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1929, pp. 432; Knight Dunlap, Civilized life, Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins Co., 1934, pp. 374. What are the experimental findings which led to the belief that there are no rigid instincts in man such as are found in lower animals? Also what evidence do we have to show that many stereotyped reactions of animals, formerly classified as instincts, should be considered as partly or wholly learned reactions? What are the circumstantial difficulties of making an exact differentiation between the innate and acquired factors of given responses? Is it possible to differentiate between human drives and desires? In what way does the process of socialization modify the manifestations of physiological drives?

What is the present-day concept of a personality trait? Many writers, especially sociologists, have defined personality traits in terms of their external social manifestations. Is it also possible to define personality traits in physiological terms? Why are measurements of personality usually made in terms of external manifestations, especially in terms of emotional adjustment? See Percival Symonds, Diagnosing personality and conduct, New York, The Century Co., 1931, pp. 602; Laurance F. Shaffer, The psychology of adjustment, New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1936, pp. 600 ; Carney Landis, The expression of the emotions, in The foundations of experimental psychology, edited by Carl Murchison, Worcester, Clark University Press, 1929, 488–523.

CHAPTER II

It is extremely difficult to define an attitude, principally because it can be only subjectively evaluated and because the corresponding overt behavior is so variable. Is it possible to measure attitudes by observing overt behavior ? Are physiological measurements reliable ? See D. M. Olson and Vernon Jones, An objective measure of emotionally toned attitudes, The journal of genetic psychology, 1931, 39, 174–196. There is sufficient evidence to show that it is possible to control and direct the accompanying emotional responses of attitudes. Is it also possible to control the accompanying physiological responses ?

In what way do social pressures determine the attitudes of a person ? In what way does recent propaganda cause a change in attitudes ? See Peterson and Thurstone, Effect of a motion picture film on children's attitudes towards Germans, Journal of educational psychology, 1932, 23, 241–246.

What determines the persistency of an attitude ? What are the relative effects of the following factors in determining and in changing attitudes : intelligence ; imitation ; mental conflicts ; social pressures ; traumatic experiences. Are the attitudes formed by a crisis situation as intense or as permanent as those formed through imitation or cultural pressure ?

CHAPTER III

Sociologists and psychologists differ in their beliefs regarding the origin of many maladjustments. Sociologists emphasize the organization of the environment whereas psychiatrists emphasize the individual reactions, although they do not overlook the importance of environmental factors. What, in your opinion, determines the given reaction to the environment, that is, what is the basis of the differences of the reactions of two individuals to the same environmental forces ?

It is commonly agreed that the immigrant who finds himself in the marginal situation between two cultures is likely to develop conflicts of inferiority. What other cultural problems in persons other than immigrants result in such conflicts? Can you describe the various problems an individual meets in his process of growth at least partly in terms of cultural transitions?

What determines the persistency of cultural conflicts? What determines the acceptance of the attitudes and values of the dominant group and what determines the acceptance by the individual of his old culture? Can you name a number of family problems which influence the arousal of culture conflicts?

Discuss the importance of ecological studies, especially those pertaining to mental abnormalities. In what way are social and psychological factors interrelated in the development of conflicts?

Assuming that compulsive behavior may result from culture conflicts, what influence does such behavior have upon the development of delinquency? Is it possible to differentiate between personal and culture conflicts? What determines the satisfactory or unsatisfactory solution of a cultural conflict?

CHAPTER IV

Discuss the various methods by which an individual maintains his security. It is generally believed that the more intense the individual's conflicts the more difficult it is for him to maintain his emotional equilibrium. What is the relationship between the intensity of conflicts and feelings of security or insecurity? Since feelings of insecurity are determined, to some extent, by the number of competitive problems a person must meet, what is the effect of age upon an individual's maintenance of his feelings of security? To what extent do identifications with parents or other groups function in the maintenance of security? What is the interrelation between egocentric behavior and defense reactions?

Alfred Adler believes that compensatory behavior is the natural consequence of feelings of inferiority. Do you believe that feelings of inferiority are universally observed? If so, to what extent does compensatory behavior influence the everyday behavior of the average person? The character of compensatory behavior is determined in part by a number of factors. Can you name the factors which influence the kind of compensatory behavior which an individual assumes? What is the influence of age, intelligence, achievement, and identifications? What determines the persistency of compensatory behavior? Why do some individuals compensate temporarily and then reorient their behavior, whereas others appear to increase the degree of their compensatory activities?

CHAPTER V

Discuss the implications of everyday experiences for the development of attitudes toward sex problems. If it is true that a large number of the experiences of children are sensory, why are some classified as erotic whereas others are not? In what way are the early erotic experiences related to later sex behavior? Why are the sex conflicts of children considered to be of greater significance for later adjustment than many other types of conflicts?

Psychoanalysts have emphasized the "oedipus complex" as an important factor in the development of sex conflicts. What is the evidence for and against this assumption? Discuss the evidence for and against the belief that this "complex" may be universally observed. Discuss the evidence for the theory that affectionate attachment to the parent of the opposite sex may be due in many cases to social pressures and not to inherent "libidinal" drives.

In what ways do social pressures and cultural standards influence sex behavior? Do you believe that sex problems are "inherent" in the development of the child, or do you believe that they are the result of the many social inhibitions and restrictions? Discuss the influence of the usual restrictions which society imposes upon sex behavior in the development of sex conflicts and abnormalities of sex behavior.

CHAPTER VI

The psychiatric literature contains many contradictory statements regarding the origin of neurotic behavior. Although the majority of psychiatrists believe in the psychological origin of neurotic symptoms, a small but vigorous minority claim that physical and physiological factors influence the development of neuroses. Discuss the relative merits of the proof which the two groups have given for their claims. What determines the effect of a given conflict such as a conflict of inferiority in producing neurotic symptoms?

If it is agreed that neurotic symptoms function as means of escape from frustrations, does living in an environment with few frustrations reduce the number of neuroses? Discuss the results of investigations of persons living in isolated social settings. Although no controlled experimental evidence has been produced for a comparison of the frequency of neuroses between rural and urban groups, sufficient general evidence has been produced to show that the frequency of neurotic conditions in urban settings is greater. What factors in the urban situation might produce this greater frequency?

Many psychologists, especially William McDougall, claim that neurotic symptoms are purposive. Discuss the importance of adjustmental purpose in the development of the symptoms. Why do different symptoms develop in different individuals? If the purpose of the neurotic symptoms is to adjust the individual to his problems and conflicts, how is this purpose developed? If the environmental setting is an important factor what is the reason for the failure of changing the environment to effect a cure in most instances?

A number of psychiatrists have noticed that the intellectual level of an individual influences the kind of symptoms he develops. Discuss the influence of intelligence upon the frequency and the character of neurotic symptoms. Discuss the importance of regressive activity in the adjustment of the neurotic person. Is there any relationship between the degree of regression and intelligence?

CHAPTER VII

Antisocial behavior is considered by the public to be due to individual moral defects. Scientists consider antisocial behavior as the product of some personality or emotional disturbance. Sociologists generally believe that the social backgrounds of an individual are determining factors in the development of delinquency, and psychologists generally believe that individual difficulties create delinquent behavior. Discuss the evidence presented by these two groups. What is the importance of culture conflicts in the creation of antisocial acts?

Many studies have shown that the creation of the conflicts of the delinquent individual is practically the same. What, therefore, determines the influence of conflicts in the determination of neurotic symptoms and of delinquent acts?

The greatest frequency of delinquency has been shown to occur during the adolescent age. Discuss the factors of adolescence which influence the occurrence of delinquency. What is the relative importance of conflicts and of social problems during adolescence?

Discuss the importance of physical and mental defects and abnormalities as factors influencing delinquency. Theories regarding the importance of intellectual defects have changed from the claim that intellectual retardation is the most important factor to the present belief that only a small percentage of delinquency is caused by mental deficiency. What evidence determined this change of theory? Do physical defects directly influence the development of delinquency? If not, what is the relationship between physical defect and abnormality and delinquent behavior?

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